AN OUTLINE OF CAMBODIAN ARCHITECTURE

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An Outline of Cambodian Architecture

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Introduction

The present paper is intended to give an outline of Cambodian architecture and to show, wherever possible, how far it can be related to Indian art. It is not without reasons, that scholars on the field of archaeology have given the name "Greater India" to those countries in Southeast Asia like Indonesia, Cambodia, Champa (present Central Viet Nam), Siam, Laos and Burma. History of Indian culture tells us of the spread, during the golden period of the Gupta dynasty, of Indian art to Central Asia, Southeast Asia and the Far East covering China, Korea and Japan. If we take for granted the account given by the Mahavamsa,, the Sinhalese Chronicle written during the fifth century of the Christian Era, we find that, as early as the third century B.C., Buddhism was carried by Asoka's missionaries to so many countries including Egypt. The Chronicle tells us that the first Stupa built at the time Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon during the reign of King Devanampiyatissa was the Thuparama in Anuradhapura, a city more than a hundred miles to the north of Colombo. The Stupa still extant is said to have contained a collar bone of the Buddha.

In Cambodia, so far as our present knowledge goes, the country is said to have been Indianized during the third or fourth century A. D. But the earliest settlers are said to have entered Cambodia during the 1st Century A. D. With the Indianization of the country, naturally Indian culture was introduced into Cambodia and as a result we have monuments representing Brahmanical and Buddhist faiths left for us. The gigantic and most unique temples of Angkor like Angkor Vat and Angkor Thom are some of the examples that have aroused the wonder of the world. Here is met with the greatest conception of architecture which cannot be equalled by any in the Far East and not even by the architecture of India itself according to Henri Parmentier, one of the great scholars on the field.

We must keep in mind that the dissemination of Indian culture in Cambodia was as a result of repeated immigrations of adventurous merchants and princes and not of invasion. Here in Cambodia Hinduism and Buddhism played a vital role in disseminating the Indian culture. A swing to any of the two religions by the ruling monarch was always materialized in the construction of some temples dedicated to that faith. Sometimes the two religions prospered pell-mell on account of equal munificence being showered on them by the King. Then we find the reflection in two groups of buildings, Hindu and Buddhist belonging to the same age. Such vicissitude of favour of the ruling monarchs was also well-known in ancient India, the cradle of those religions. At times, we find that different monarchs favoured different sects of the same faith, thereby temples dedicated to different deities came into being.

The architectural activities in Cambodia, so far as we know, started earlier than the fourth or fifth century of the Christian Era. But the buildings earlier than this period appeared to have been of perishable material, hence they vanished without a trace according to H. Parmentier and other well-known French scholars who have spent most of their time in Cambodia. Even those remaining thousands of temples of durable materials like sandstone, laterite and brick—some completely and some partly ruined—were swallowed up by the thick jungle at the mercy of time and clime. Henri Mouhot, a French naturalist was the first person to have discovered Angkor in the deep jungle near the town of Siemreap in 1858 A. D. Then began the looting of their precious pieces of sculpture. The first to loot, according to Briggs, was Delaporte who bundled away some of the sculptural pieces to fill the French Museums. Soon it was followed by the systematic looting done by Europeans and Americans alike, till it was checked by the establishment of Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient in 1898-1900. The temples at Angkor and elsewhere in Cambodia were a few years later systematically excavated by this French school established in Hanoi (the capital city of present North Viet Nam). In the course of excavations there have been discovered some architectural elements which seem to have shown close resemblances to their counterparts in India, especially those of the Pallava period. While on sculptural ground, scholars believe that Gupta influence was felt at a certain period. However, in later period, we find assimilation and conventionalization came to play their part in shaping the foreign elements into the mould of national character. But the spirit behind that remained the same—that they served to house an image of the deity or the Buddha. About the beginning of the classical period from 9th to 12th century) there emerged a particular cult in Cambodian Hinduism peculiar to Cambodia alone, i.e. the Devaraja cult, in which the ruling monarch was identified with the presiding deity in the temple, first after his death, and later during his lifetime. Consequently the mountain-temple symbolical of Mount Meru in Hindu mythology was constructed. Scholars including G. Coedes as the first exponent, believe, after making a thorough research on the subject, that the mountain temples became the funeral temples of different monarchs after their death. When Mahayana Buddhism was at the apex of its glory, a similar cult on the pattern of the Devaraja cult was forged and fostered distinctly Buddhist about the 12th century. That was the cult of the Buddharaja. Just as those monarchs of the Devaraja cult were named posthumously as Paramesvarapada, Paramavishnuloka, Paramarudraloka, Paramasivapada and so on, those monarchs of the Buddharaja cult were posthumously called Jayabuddhamahanatha, Mahaparamasaugata, Nirvanapada, etc. and the Sivalinga emblem was replaced by an image of the Buddha or Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva. The emergence of these two cults had for the rulers' advantage, political significance, as the inscriptions of Bayon reveal to us. This reminds us of the status of the religious and political Dalai Lama, the priest-king of Tibet. But the difference between the two lies in that whereas the the Dalai Lama was an incarnate of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva, the Kings of Cambodia were apotheosised as the Buddha or Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva.

In this bork, it is proposed to discuss, in the first chapter, the relations between India and Cambodia during the early centuries of the Christian Era and the influx of Indian adventurous immigrants into Cambodia that sowed the seed of architectural activities in Cambodia, in the second chapter, the architectnral elements and types of the temples, in the third chapter, the pre-Khmer architecture. The fourth chapter, will feature the classical Khmer architecture and the fifth chapter, the Devaraja and Buddharaja cults which prompted the irresistible need to build the mountain-temple imitating Mount Meru in Indian mythology.

Foreword

The "Farther India" presents before us a rich veriety of Indian culture from the Kushan period down to the present time. These nations are scattered in many parts of the Central, Eastern and South Eastern Asia. They offer in varying degrees to us the Indianised pattern of their life in other words the Indian patterns as moulded in the parent cultures of those lands. This is how the individuality of each of these nations was never lost. We can take a parallel example from the European culture which spread all over that continent at the same time each country preserved its own personality and thus gave a new shape to the traditional motifs.

The other aspects of the study which are equally important is that most of the motifs radiated from India were elaborated in the "Farther India". On the same pattern as we may find in the South Indian architecture and sculpture, the continuity was never lost. While in the North the early architectural types were submerged with the crystalization of the *Nagara* temple and its *Sikhara.* How many different types of the temple architecture there were in North India, are almost unknown to us. If only these could be distinctly pin-pointed we might be able to explain the long lists of temple-types which frequent in the *Kamikagamā, Prasadamandana* and others.

It appears that in the first stage, the Indian temple architecture was used on a national basis and the regional types were formulated only subsequently. As for instance, the rock-cut Mauryan halls in South Bihar correspond to their later counterparts in Western India, or the shallow caves of Orissa should correspond to the Brahmanical rock-cut temples at Udaigiri (Bhelsa) of the time of Chandra Guupta II (ca. 375-414 A.D.). The beginnng of the *Dravida Sikhara* can be seen in scores of reliefs at Barhut, Sanchi and Budh Gaya (ca. 2nd to 1st century B.C.), as well as on some of the North Indian coins of the beginning of the Christian era. These further help us to prove that there were hardly any major changes in these architectural forms on the basis of religious attributions. In each of the details the Sanchi temple No. 17 which is Buddhist in design corresponds with the other temples of the same period.

Study of early Indian temple-types can be re-inforced by the extant temples in Cambodia. It appears that the first contacts between Cambodia and India were made in the Kushan period. The Kanishka empire gave a new impetus to the spread of Indian culture. The earlier efforts resulting from Asoka's missionary zeal were confined to a few areas of human thought and to a handful of his neighbouring countries, while the Kushan empire not only enlarged the avenues for such contacts but also supported them on a broad-based program, which being coupled with the foreign trade, was opened to the sea-going merchants. The Kushan-Mathura-inspired sculptures have been discovered from Nepal. But the main stream of Indian culture seems to have arrived in Cambodian in the Gupta, and subsequently, Pallava periods. Therefore, the Cambodian temple architecture which follows these traditions offers to us an invaluable source of material in exploring such types which are not so well known in the Indian archaeology. The goose motif on the door jamb will be a fit case to illustrate the parallelism. This is probably the same as the *Mangalyavihaga* of the *Brihatsamhita* and can be traced back to the time of Asoka as they appear on the abacus of certain Mauryan columns. In the Gupta period they were freely used on temple door-ways (at Dah Parbatia, Assam, a couple of these are shown on the jambs which might be its formative stage). The *Raghuvamsam* (1, 41) also mentions a cluster of *Sarasas* floating in the air resembling a *torana* devoid of its post. Probably the place name Hamsadvara (i. e, the "goose door") of the *Meghaduta* (1,61) was derived from the same tradition.

Similarly the bust figures of human beings in the niches figuring on the Cambodian temples may be related to certain Mathura *Yakshis* of the Kushana period in which a girl or a couple (again, only upto the bust portion) were shown in a niche peeping below from a terrace. In the same way it will be a matter of future investigation to find out whether the origin of the epithet *Devgraja* may be traced back to the time of Chandra Gupta II who (as we know) did adopt this title, albeit that the cult was definitely unknown to Indian.

Mr. Ly Kim Long's findings in the present book are revealing to us, who know very little on such areas. He prepared this text in the Department of Art and Architecture under the able guidance of the late Dr. Vasudeva Sharan Agrawal,

I welcome Mr. Ly Kim Long in his publication—this has fallen upon me due to the untimely demise of Dr. V. S. Agrawala. Such publications would have made him happy and it is in fulfilment of his standing desire with his students that this volume is printed. It is hoped that this book will help create a better understanding between the two friendly nations—India and Cambodia for which Mr. Ly Kim Long deserves our hearty thanks.

Anand Krishna

Bharat Kala Bhavan
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Preface

Cambodian culture has been traced back as far as the first century of the Christian Era, but it became known to the world and actuafly studied only after the birth of the L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient (the French School of the Far Fast) in Hanoi about the end of the 19th century.

Many distinguished scholars such as Louis Finot, Paul Pelliot, Aymonier, Etienne Henri Parmentier, Henri Marchal, Victor Goloubew, George Coedes, Georges Groslier, Mme de Coral Remusat, R. C. Majumdar. L. P. Briggs, K. Bhattacharya etc....have already brought out numerous important articles and books on this culture. Except for Dr. R. C. Majumdar and L. P. Briggs, whose books were in English, the rest have written their works almost entirely in French.

The present book which is small in comparison to the works of those giants of scholarship, is an attempt to bring together for the first time some of the most essential characteristics of Cambodian architecture. Factual rather than descriptive representation is given, wherever possible, based mostly on the researches of the above scholars.

Difficulty in getting first-hand pictures for the plates led me to obtain help from the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, for permisson to reproduce some plates from *The Ancient Khmer Empire* by L. P. Briggs. A few plates are taken from Percy Brown's *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu Periods) published by Taraporevala Sons & Co. Ltd., Bombay. I am grateful to them for the permission.

I wish to express my gratitude to my teacher, the late Dr. V. S. Agrawala, former Professor and Head of the Department of Indian Art And Architecture, Banaras Hindu University, for his guidance and suggestions and also to Dr. Anand Krishna, another teacher of mine in the same department for writing the foreword, and for his kind suggestions and selfless help in various ways. I must also thank the publisher, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan's proprietor for his effort and co-oporation in bringing out the book. Lastly, my thanks are due to my wife, Barbara, for her help in preparing the index.

Ly Kim Long

June 20, 1967
Varanasi, (India)

CHAPTER I

Relations between India and Cambodia during the early Centuries

It is and has been the opinion of the French archaeologists and others who have done work on Cambodian architecture that architectural activities in Cambodia were at a certain stage influenced directly or indirectly by Indian architecture. This has been ascertained on the ground that Hinduism and Buddhism which came to be introduced into Cambodia were the religions grown up on Indian soil. These religions had to have places of worship for the devotees. Naturally, shelters or temples were built to house the deities or an image of the founder of those religions. Hence architecture, peculiar to national taste and in accordance with religious injunctions, was produced. But at the beginning it appears very likely that the priests or whoever they were, who introduced these two great religions into Cambodia, must have had their own way to have temples built by the architects who had been accustomed to the architecture of their religions.

Before we come to the main subject dealing with Cambodian architecture, it is meet, in this connection, to devote the first chapter discussing on Indo-Cambodian relations in the early centuries of the Christian Era. The sources of our information regarding this period are the Chinese accounts and inscriptional evidences plus local legends. The Chinese accounts tell us that during the early centuries of the Christian Era, Cambodia was called Fu-nan. It is said that the country was founded during the later part of the first century A. D. by an Indian Brahmin called Kaundinya (Hun-t'ien in Chinese). So the accounts say, "At the beginning, Funan had a sovereign, a woman named Liu-yeh. There was a man from the country of Mo-fu, called Hun-t'ien, who loved to render a cult to a genie, with unrelaxing ardour. The genie was touched by his extreme piety. At night Hun-t'ien dreamed that a man gave him a divine bow and ordered him to go on board a great merchant junk and go to sea. In the morning Hun-t'ien entered the temple, and, at the foot of the tree of the genie, he found a bow. He then boarded a great ship and went to sea. The genie directed the wind in order to make the ship arrive at Funan. Liu-Yeh wished to pillage (the ship) and take possession of it. Hun-t'ien raised the divine bow and fired. (The arrow) pierced the bark of Liu-Yeh from side to side. Liu-Yeh, frightened, submitted, and thus Hun-t'ien became the King of Funan[1]." In the Cham inscription at Mison dated

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[1] Quelques textes chinois concernant l' Indochine hindouisee. Etudes Asiatiques, 1925, Vol. 2, pp. 243-263.

657 A. D. it is said that Kaundinya landed in Funan, drove his spear into the ground and married Soma while the Cambodian legend mentions of Preah Thong, the son of King Adityavamsa of Indraprastha, who went to Kok-Thlok (Funan) where a Naga king was ruling. He seized the throne and married the Naga princess.[1] From these accouuts, it appears that the first immigration from India to Funan took place in the first century with Kaundinya as the leader. Scholars agreed that there was another Kaundinya of the fourth century. The first Kaundinya, therefore, must have belonged to the first century as the Chinese accounts, especially the one recorded by the Chinese chronicler K' ang T'ai was written in the third century. This legend seems to have come along with the immigrants. It was a story familiar at the Pallava court[2] which mentioned of the marriage of the great Brahman Kaundinya with the Nagini Soma, daughter of Nagaraja Soma, founder of the lunar line of Kings of India according to R. C. Majumdar. Nearly all the subsequent Kings of Funan, Chenla and Kambuja trace their genealogies back to the Lunar Dynasty of Kaundinya and Soma. There is a similar legend probably of later period as it was recorded in the Baksei Chamkrong inscription (Angkor) dated 947 A. D. It says that all the Kambuja Kings[3] descended from the Sage Kambusvayambhuva whose wife was Mera given to him by Hara. Dr. R. C. Majumdar says that the Kambusvayambhuva story was also current in the Pallava country. Goloubew also draws our attention to the close similarity between the legend of Kaundinya and Heracles's adventure given in Herodotus's book (Book 4). There Heracles is said to have gone to the desert and met Echinda, half woman and half serpent. He had three sons by her and left them behind. But before his departure, he gave the mother a bow and a belt with the instruction that any one of his sons who could draw the bow and girdle the belt should govern the region. One of the sons, Scythes, succeeded and ruled the territory. In referring to this legend, Goloubew thinks that there must have been some kind of connection between the people of northern India and those of Coromandel coast, particularly the Pallavas. This is strengthened by the use of the Saka era in the Pallava region (according to Briggs, the Pallavas themselves seem never to have used it). The Pallavas also used Indo-Aryan Prakrit and Sanskrit instead of Dravidian languages in their copper plate grants and the apparent Scythian influence is felt in the Pallava art of Amaravati and Mamallapuram.[3] What is more important, in this connection, is that we also find the Saka era in use in the inscriptions of Cambodia as early as the pre-Angko-

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1. Sur quelques traditions indochinoises-Bulletin de la Commission archeologique-Indochinoise, Paris, Vol. XI, 1911, pp. 31 ff.
2. Reginald le may-The Culture of South East Asia, London, 1954, p. 38
3. Melanges sur le Cambodge ancien-Bulletin de l'Ecole Francais d'Extreme-Orient 1924. Vol. 24, pp. 501-10.

rean period. Could this indicate that either the Pallava immigrants or those from the Kushan Empire came to settle in Funan some time later than the first century A. D. ? A Pallava inscription tells us of a Pallava minister at the court of the Satraps, reigning at Aparanta. In about 225-235 A. D., the Pallavas of Kanchi are said to have conquered the Telugu Kingdom of Andhra which was formerly a part of the Maurya Empire and in close connection with the western Satrapies of the Kushan Emperors. According to Rene Grousset[1] there was some disorder in the region following the temporary conquest by Samudragupta about 350 A. D. This disorder was probably the impetus to the first wave of colonists from this region to Indochina. G. Jouveau Dubreuil[2] thinks that the Indian immigrants who came to Funan, came from the point of departure at the mouth of the Godavari river in the Telugu country just north of the Pallava domain. We are informed also by the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea that sea-route between India and Cambodia was in existence during the 2nd Century A. D.[3]

So far as the first wave of immigrants from India (Mofu in Chinese) which had for its leader, a Brahmin called Kaundinya is concerned, scholars have not been able to establish the exact point of their departure from India. P. Pelliot, one of the renowned French scholars on Cambodian studies, who has unearthed and translated a large number of references to Funan in the early chinese annals is of the opinion that Kaundinya came from the West in the Ist Century A. D. Victor Goloubew[4] thinks that Kaundinya was a mythical hero. George Coedes[5] tells us of a similar legend of the Nagi connected with the Pallava dynasty. He cited two Pallava copper plate characters, one of which gives Drona and Asvatthaman among the legendary ancestors of the Pallava Kings and says, the latter married a Nagi who gave him a son who was the founder of the Pallava dynasty. According to Coedes, several works in Tamil mention about a King of the Cholas who married a Naga princess. By her he had a son who became a Tondaiman[6] or Pallava of Kanchi.

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1. Histoire de l' Extreme-Orient, 1929, Vol. I, p. 91.
2. Ancient History of the Deccan, (translated into English by V. S. Swaminada Dickshitar). Pondichery, 1930, p, 88. H. G. Quaritch Wales, Towards Angkor (in the footsteps of the Indian invaders), London, 1937, p. 116.
3. Bulletin de l' Ecole Francais d' Extreme-Orient, Vol. III, pp. 271-72.
4. Melanges sur le Cambodge ancien-B,E.F.E.O., Vol. 24, pp. 501-510.
5. La legende de la Nagi. B.E.F.E.O., Vol. 11, pp. 391-393.
6. R. Gopalan, History of the Pallavas of Kanchi, Madras, 1928, pp. 15 ff, 35, 36. Rasanayagam, Indian antiquities, Vol. Lii, pp. 75-80; see also : G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, Ancient History of the Deccan (Trans. by V. S. Swaminadha Dikshitar), Pondichery, 1930, pp. 54 ff; Epigraphia Carnatica (Edited by' Rice) Vol. VII facing page 252; G. Coedes, La legende de la Nagi, BEFEO. 1911, pp. 391-393.

Up to the present, Naga plays a prominent role in social and architectural aspects of Cambobia. On either side of the causeway leading to the temples we find a gigantic Naga in sandstone of many meters in length with its enormous hood raised up about two or three meters high. In the tower of Phimeanakas in the Angkor region, legend has it that the king used to go there and spend the first watch of the night with a Naga princess. According to Chou Ta Kuan, the Chinese historian who visited the Khmer kingdom about the end of the 13th Century, the union between the King and the Nagi was considered indispensable for the well-being and prosperity of the kingdom. Aymonier[1] while giving us information regarding the marriage ceremony in Cambodia, tells us, "while the parents of the young couple circulate little metal discs in which the sacred fire of the candle burns, the music invariably plays the ancient and national air of the Divine Thong (legendary founder of Funan identified with the first Kaundinya) and Dame Nag; this air whose melancholy notes are listened to religiously and provoke a tender feeling, an emotion often translated into tears." It should be mentioned in passing that the disc, as is at present, takes the shape of the Pipal leaf.[2] The Naga story passed from Cambodia to Siam and Laos also.[3]

Though the Naga legend only gives us a vague idea regarding the point of departure of the first wave of immigrants from India, there are some other inscriptional, architectural and sculptural elements that may give us considerable clue to the problem we are trying to solve. For our present purpose, however, we shall save our discussion on architectural elements for the main chapter of the thesis, i.e. the second chapter. Inscriptional evidences reveal the use of the Saka era and South Indian script. The presence of the saka era leads us to think that it may have come from north India or the region conquered by the Pallava on the southeast coast, about the third century A.D. The Saka era, therefore, indicates only later immigration from India as it appeared in the Funanese inscriptions of the third century onwards. We are told by Chinese accounts that in the first half of the third century A. D. Fan Chan, one of the successors of the first Kaundinya received a merchant called Chia-hsiang-li who came from the country west of India. On hearing of the splendour of India, the King sent the first mission headed by Su-Wu to India. The envoy came back in four years with four Indo-

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1. Un apercu de 1' histoire du Camboge. Paris. A Challamel 1908, pp. 8–9.
2. The Pipal leaf is symbolical of the leaf of the Pipal tree under which the Buddha attained his Englightenment. This is a Buddhist influence. The fire is symbolical of the sacred fire of the Hindu which is circulated around the couple seven times. Le Mariage Cambodgien, Culture et, Civilisation Khmeres, No. 3.
3. Bulletin de la Commission Archeologique Indochinoise, Paris, vol XI, 1911 pp. 20–37.

Scythian horses as gift from the King of India.[1] It is said that the envoy reached the mouth of the Ganges and ascended 7000 li to the capital of a prince who may have belonged to the dynasty of Murunda. Another point for our consideration is that in 357 A.D. there was a usurper on the throne of Funan called T'ien-Chu Chan-t'an.[2] He is said to have sent an embassy to the Chinese court offering tribute of trained elephants. His name Chu indicates that he was an Indian and Chan-t'an is transcribed in Sanskrit as Chandana. Coedes and Sylvain Levi[3] think that Chandana was a royal title among the Indo-Scythians, particularly of Murunda dynasty of the Kushans. They think the arrival of the usurper was a consequence of Fan Chan's mission to India about the 3rd century. The Kushans may have been expelled by Chandragupta's conquest of the Gangetic valley and hence tried their fortune in Funan. Sylvain Levi draws our attention to many artistic and cultural finds in the Mekong delta to prove his arguments. So far as historical data are concerned these scholars have been able to establish only tentatively the theory that Indian immigrants, especially those immediately after the first Kaundinya departed from a point somewhere in upper Gangetic valley. Hence let us try inscriptional evidences for help, if any.

Regarding the early inscriptions of Funan, it has been believed that the alphabet was of archaic Pallava or pre-Pallava type, an early development common to the alphabets of all Southern India called Vengi by Dr. Kern and others. It seems to have been introduced from an old capital between the Kistna and Godavari rivers.[4] It was like that of the inscriptions of Bhadravarman at Champa (present Central Vietnam) and those of East Borneo and West Java. Its prototype seems to be the Pallava charter plates in Prakrit assigned to the third and fourth centuries according to R. Gopalan.[5] Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra proposes to call it Pallava script (at least the script of this period). He says[6] "It is a very remarkable fact that the earlest known inscriptions found in those countries of the Far East are all composed in Sanskrit, all belonging approximately to the same period, the fifth century, and are written in a script which in every respect

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1. Fou-nan, B.E.F.E.O., 1903, Vol. III, pp. 271, 277-78, 292.
2. Ibid., pp. 255, 293.
3. Les Etats hindouises d' Indochine et d' Indonesie (Histoire du Monde. 8 (2) Paris, 1948 pp. 82-83.
4. India and Java, Greater India Society Bulletin No. 5, Part II, p. 13. Second Edition, revised and enlarged, Calcutta, Prabhasi Press.
5. History of the Pallavas of Kanchi, 1928, P. 32-35; University of Madras, History Series 3.
6. Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava Rule as evidenced by the Inscriptions. Archive Society of Bengal, Journal of the Proceedings 1935, p. 56.

is identical with the Grantha character used at this time on the coast of Coromandel. Even more significant is the phenomenon that for several centuries the Pallava Grantha remained the only script in vogue in Further India and Indonesia and that during this period it exhibits a development running parallel with that which we notice in the contemporary records of Coromandel." It appears very likely that there were many waves of immigrants from India during the period from the second to the fifth century. During the second and third centuries the immigrants might have come from the territory of the Kushans in North India as the alphabet of the inscriptions of this period was probably of a Kushan type of Northern India, like that of the inscription of Vo-Chanh in Champa. The Pallava or pre-Pallava alphabet as pointed out by Dr. Kern and others appeared suddenly during the fifth century. Briggs draws our attention to an undated Sanskrit inscription of the reign of Jayavarman I, the only inscription in Indo-China which mentions Kanchipura, the Pallava capital.[1] This naturally supports the theory of G. Jouveau Dubreuil[2] regarding the first wave of immigrants from the mouth of the Godavari in the Telugu Kingdom conquered by the Pallavas who were in turn overthrown by Samudragupta. Commenting on the inscriptions of this period and later which are scattered all over the Funan Empire, R. C. Majumdar says,[3] "It may be said without any hesitation that like the Kambuja monuments the Kambuja Sanskrit records on stone far exceed in volume and grandeur those of ancient India of which the existence is so far known."

As regards sculptural evidences there have been found some sculptures in high relief during the fifth century which bear very close affinity to the Gupta counterpart in India. George Groslier, Director of Cambodian arts in 1923 says that several figures of the Buddha standing in different poses and one seated, have been discovered at Vat Romlok and Basre near Angkor Borei, the earliest Capital of Funan. He calls them Indo-Greek statues of the schools of Magadha or Mathura or Ajanta. These sculptures are actually free of all Gandharan influence. For instance, the forms are elegant and elongated, the face is of different linear contour, the hair is curly, the Ushnisha is just a protuberance and the drapery is very transparent without any fold on the robe. These figures must have been executed under the direction of the Indian teachers. As the Gupta style was more or less of one standard from Magadha and Mathura to Ajanta and Amaravati, it is difficult to find out the exact school of these sculptures. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy[4] attributes their affinity to the rock-cut Buddhas at Ajanta and to some Gupta types

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1. L. P. Brigges, The Ancient Khmer Empire, 1951, p. 55.
2. See page 9.
3. Kambujadesa or an Ancient Hindu Colony in Cambodia, 1944, p. 107.
4. History of Indian and Indonesian Art, London 1927 pp. 182-183.

from Sarnath when he says, "Most surely of the fifth and sixth century dates are the characteristic standing Buddha figures from Romlok, in the simplicity of form, the haunched (abhanga) stance and the complete transparency of the drapery, they are very closely related to the rock-cut Buddhas in the precinct of Cave XIX at Ajanta and to some Gupta types from Sarnath." He further says that from the same site has been found a very fine Buddha head of Indian character of Chinese affinities, not that it shows Chinese influence, but that it may be taken as an indication of the kind of Buddhist art that reached South China in the time of the Six Dynasties. L. P. Briggs[1] thinks that all these statues, including the Sambor female figure, the Buddhas of Angkor Borei, the early statues of Harihara, the Vishnu with cylindrical coiffure seem to have been inspired by the Gupta school (320-600 A. D.).

In view of the fact that sea and land route communication between India and Funan during this period, even earlier, was already in existence, it is possible for the Gupta artists to have come from Amaravati or Northern India along with the immigrants. We are also told of Dvaravati near the present Mergui of Burma as a cultural relay for Funan as it was one of the vassal states of the latter at that time.[2]

The presence of the suffix-Varman for the Kings' names as early as the fourth or fifth century is another important point for consideration. It is a well-known fact that this suffix was in common use among the Pallavas and other princes of Central and Southern India at this time. L, P. Briggs is of the view that the suffix-Varman appeared in Cambodia about the third century A. D., and in Champa a little later. According to B. C. Chhabra,[3] Varman was originally a ritual suffix of the Ksatriya caste. For other castes they are as follows, Brahmana-Sarman, Vaishya-Gupta, and Sudra-Dasa. Later-Varman indicates simply a ruling class, regardless of caste. In Cambodia, almost all the Kings from the remote past have had the suffix Varman for their names, for example, Bhavavarman, Jayavarman, Indravaman, Yasovarman, Harshavarman, Rajendravarman, Suryavarman, etc.......Briggs thinks that the second Kaundinya who ruled Fuuan about the fourth century took the name, Jayavarman. It is possible, in this connection,

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1. The Ancient Khmer Empire 1951, p. 36.
2. Dvaravati—the most ancient kingdom of Siam. Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, 1945, Vol. 65, pp. 98-107; H. G. Quaritch Wales, Towards Angkor..., pp. 122 ff.
3. Expansion of the Indo-Aryan culture during Pallava rule as evidenced by the Inscriptions–Archive Society of Bengal, Journal of Proceedings, Calcutta, 1935, p, 58, n 2,

for Kaundinya to have had as his name Kaundinyavarman or Kaundinya-Jayavarman.[1]

Cambodia was also in close relation with China but on a different footing. We are told that Funan sent its first envoy to China duriug the reign of Emperor Sun Ch'uan of the Wu dynasty offering as a present some musicians and products of the country. Before that Chu Ying and K'ang-t'ai from the Imperial Court had visited Funan. K'ang-t'ai seems to have been responsible for the introduction of the custom of clothing for men in Funan. While the first Kaundinya is said to have first clothed his wife Liu Yeh, and then taught all the women in the Kingdom to wear clothes. A usurper called T'ien Chu Chan-t'an or Chandana, according to the annal of the Chiu dynasty, sent an embassy to the Chinese court in 357 A. D. with a tribute of trained elephants. In the fifth century Jayavarman sent the monk Nagasena to the court of Emperor wu-ti with many presents including two ivory Stupas. This Emperor is supposed to be the very devout Buddhist Emperor, Liang Wu-ti. Many other embassies were also sent to China during the successive centuries. Yet Cambodia does not appear to have received any deep-rooted cultural influence from China. All scholars, without exception, agree on one and the same conclusion that India was the only fountain from which Cambodia has received its culture. We are reminded, in this connection, of a famous statement by A. Foucher[2] who says, "Not only the old Cambodia of more than a thousand years ago, not only the Cambodia visited at the end of the 13th century by the Chinese traveller Tcheou-ta Kouan, but even the modern one is still full of Indian traditions and customs. Nay, I dare say, it has remained in many ways more Indian, I mean more like old-fashioned India, than your modernized Bengal."

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[1] See M. Giteau, Histoire du Cambodge, Paris, 1957, p. 27.

[2] Sir Asutosh Mookerji, Silver Jubilee, Vol. III, 1922, p. 26 (a lecture delivered by him at the University af Calcutta).

CHAPTER II

Architectural elements and types of temples

The foregoing chapter has already revealed to us a glimpse of the early relations between India and Cambodia and also the beginning of the Indianization of this kingdom. The architectural activities of the early period, therefore, resemble very closely those of India. However, it is not possible for us to assign any buildings or temples to any particular reign during the early period as the historical records are very rare and vague. Political division of Cambodia during the seventh century tends to make it difficult for any scholars to demarcate the boundary of architecture (Etienne Aymonier, Le Cambodge, Vol. 3, Paris, 1903 p. 459) For example, prior to and during, the fifth and sixth centuries, the southern part of Cambodia was called Funan. When the Chenla state in the north a vassal state of Funan gained political supremacy and conquered the latter, the country came to consist of 'Chenla of the hill' and 'Chenla of the water.' This occurred about the beginning of the eighth century A. D. Later the Khmer period started about the begnning of the ninth century A. D. when the whole Kingdom was united under one supreme ruler. Hence it came to be known as the Khmer kingdom up to the present time. Henri Parmentier divided the periods of architectural activities of Cambodia into primitive Khmer art and classical Khmer art. While other scholars preferred to call them pre-Angkorean and Angkorean periods.

Percy Brown[1] in his Indian Architecture (Hindu and Buddhist) categorised Cambodian architecture as early period and classical period-early period ranges from 500 A. D. to 800 A. D. and classical period from 800 A. D. to 1250 A. D. Still some other scholars called them the period of pre-Khmer and that of classical Khmer art. The last division is supposed to be the best since it helps us to avoid any probable confusion in the classification.

Before we discuss on the buildings and temples of the above periods, it is necessary, first of all, to have some idea of their architectural elements. In doing so, we may be in a better position to understaand the actual arrangement of the buildings and temples.

During the pre-Khmer period, the columns and the lintels played a special role. The former were nearly always circular but turned to be octagonal about the end of the period. In both the cases, they were usually ornamented with rings of various motifs, sometimes of friezes with pendant garlands. The number of the rings increased about the end of the classical period and the height of the plain band diminished. The rings were decorated with geometric design or flower. Henri Marchal says that the square columns disappeared about the end of the ninth century. Philippe Stern and G. de Coral Remusat[1] divided the decoration of this period into three styles—(1) the style of Sambor, covering the seventh century, (2) the style of Prei Khmeng, covering the first half of the eighth century, and (3) the style of Kompong Preah, covering the second half of the eighth century. According to Coral Remusat, "they are related to the art of India and carry among the mouldings of their base, and capital, the bulb, souvenir of the 'turban' of the Indian pillars." Their shaft is very free, ornamented at the centre by a ring decorated with medallions. At the summit, under a series of mouldings of the capital is represented a frieze of pendant garlands, imitation of true garlands. At the base, sometimes are sculptured leaves "in face". The base with sculptured leaves actually reminds us of the Indian Purna Kalasa in stone as the base of the pillar.

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[1] Indian Architecture (Hindu and Buddhist periods), Bombay 1959 Edition, p. 181.

In the later style, the columns became larger, the shaft more loaded and the decoration more varied. The colonnade generally followed the style of the lintels. From the ninth century onwards, the square pillars were frequently used, either in porch near the gateway to the shrines or in the galleries supporting the vault above e. g. Angkor Vat. The pillars[2] did not have capitals as usually understood The end of the pillars normally supported the architraves or lintels.

About the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we find the galleries composed of three or four rows of monolithic pillars, forming two or three naves. The mouldings of the base of the pillars in the interior of the temples and galleries exist only in the exterior row. The capitals of the pillars directly receive the ends of the architrave that form the semi-vault or aisle, The Khmer custom of building tall and towering buildings necessitated the making of the stages So at Phimanakas, the first stage is 4ᴍ (0 high, the second stage 4ᴍ 00 and the third stage 3ᴍ 40. The first stage of the Baphuon is 4ᴍ 00 high, its second stage is divided into two substages of 4ᴍ 30 and 4ᴍ 80 respetcively. At Takeo to the west of Angkor Vat, the first stage is 2ᴍ 20 high, the second stage 5ᴍ 50 and the highest stage is 13ᴍ 90 high divided into three succeedingt erraces measuring 5ᴍ 80, 4ᴍ 50 and 3ᴍ 60 respectively. While Angkor Vat measures 3ᴍ 95 high for the first stage, 7ᴍ 00 for the second stage and 13ᴍ 00 for the third stage.

The striking peculiarity in the Khmer buildings is met with in the arrangement of the level of the floor and that of the threshold. Henri Marchal[3] discovered

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1. L'Art Khmer, Paris, 1940, pp. 56-61.
2. Henri Marchal—L'Architecture comparee dans l'Inde et l'Extreme-Orient, (L'Art et l' Ethnologie Asiatiques II), Paris, 1944 p. 151.
3. ibid. p. 130.

that at Bakheng in a small shrine in brick, the interior floor is 0^{M} 90 below the threshold of the eastern and western doors. The floor of certain towers at Prasat Thom of Koh Ker, is 0^{M} 50 below the threshold of the door. The Prasat Bei at Angkor has the slab of the floor 0^{M} 70 below the threshold. A small staircase is sometimes added to walk down from the threshold to the floor. In the case of a tower east of Pre Rup at Angkor, the sandstone slab of the floor is 1^{M} 40 below the level of the threshold without even a staircase !

Tenon-and-mortise is also met with during the classical period. It was probably made in imitation of earlier wooden structure e. g· the architrave of a certain monument north-east of Oriental Baray (Angkor), the plinth of the pillars of a shrine called Ong Mong and Beng Mealea and a shrine in laterite at a point north-west of the first enclosure of Pre Rup. This type of imitation of wood work was also the case with ancient monuments in Greece according to Henri Marchal. In India such cases are met with at Karle Chaitya hall, Belsa and Nasik caves or some of the Western Indian caves.

As regards the door, the Pre-Khmer sanctuary usually has only one door on the pricipal facade, sometimes two opposite each other and very rarely four, one on every facade. The sanctuary never has any window as it is intended to house the image of the deity only and the public does not have access to it. The decorative sculpture is reserved for the exterior. However, later windows are fouud in the gallery, the annexed edifice, vestibules or gopuras.

Just as in the case of Gupta architecture, the door of the pre-Khmer sanctuaries plays an important role in Khmer architecture. The door consists of a frame independent of the wall masonry with two vertical doorjambs and two horizontal slabs, one forming a threshold and the other a lintel. This is exactly a case of imitation of the earlier timber work. On either side of the frame, that is, beside either doorjamb, there is a column with mouldings, polygonal or round in section. At a glance, the mouldings give the impression of Purna Kalasas placed one upon the other. The fronton or pediment on the wall of the facade is supported by two pilasters attaching the columns. This method was employed in all the periods of Khmer art. Even at the present day, one can find such fronton on the religious buildings and the royal palace. In brick buildings where the columns and the lintels are always in stone, the fronton and the pilasters are in brick

The windows of the long hall, vestibules or gallaries, always have their frame in sandstone. The round balusters in concave and convex are also in sandstone. They are made separately and affixed to the upper and the lower horizontal frames. But the method was dropped about the end of the classical period. These windows permit light and air into the buildings. Such mullioned openings are found in many temples in Cambodia like Preah Khan, Banteay Srei etc. The Bhuvanesvara at Orissa about the same date has similar windows of moulded mullions.

In the western sense, there is no real vault in the Khmer architecture. The vaulting[1] is made up of two vertical walls approaching each other step by step until both ends meet. The examples well preserved are found in the vaulting on the door of Pre Rup. This type of vaulting was in use almost everywhere in ancient architecture of India. The corbelled vaulting was also widely employed in constructing the bridge during the classical period. In certain Khmer edifices we find a kind of vault simulating central nave with two lower sides. According to Henri Parmentier, about the end of the classical period, such vaulting system appeared in many Khmer Dharmasalas.[2]

The Khmer shrines usually have simple mouldings at the base of the wall in the form of cornice. The coping of the walls is concave slanting on either side and on the top of the coping there is a row of ovaloid pointed stones. These pointed stones were replaced about the end of the classical period by triangular slabs forming Chaitya windows with a Buddha image in each of them.

Often the walls reveal two layers. This is due to the fact that before the original walls were being completed, they were covered with a second layer. The Terrace of the Elephant or the Terrace of the Leprous King is one such case in question. The former walls which were covered were usually decorated with bas-relief of rich quality according to Henri Marchal. The basement of Baphuon at Angkor Thom also reveals that there was an earlier basement. This was detected when parts of the second were demolished. Another small shrine[3] at Angkor Thom shows the inner basement in laterite and the later one in sandstone with different style of moulding. Towards the end of the classical period, we also meet with such replacement in the central courtyard of Ta Prohm and in the platform later placed on the round columns in the last terrace of Angkor Vat and in the first terrace of Baphun.

In the Khmer architectuie, we meet with many examples of elevation made to the temples. This was necessitated by flood or occasional stagnation of rain water.

Another impor tantfactor in the Khmer architecture is the lintel with its profuse and varied decoration. Henry Parmentier[1] says, "We find all the various forms of Khmer sculpture and ornamentaion in the lintels, the major decorative point of Khmer sanctuary". The decorative lintel is supported by the small columns. Lunet de Lajonquiere and Henri parmentier have divided the Khmer lintels into five types, namely type I, type II, type III, type II intermediate is divided into two sub-types. Type I is sometimes called the lintel "with Makara". On the capital of each column, facing towards the centre of the lintel is a makara, a monster with scaly body, claws of a bird of prey, a large head with trunk, sometimes ending in

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1. ibid., Pl. XXXI a, c, d
2. ibid., pl. XXXIII.
3. ibid,. Fig. 105, p 155.

flowers, mouth open, tongue long and thin in the form of a harpoon. A personage is generally shown mid-body behind the makara or seated on its back, while from its mouth issues personages or lions. Between these monsters, from one capital to the other, runs a canopy, from which alternate garlands and pompons are suspended. This band is always ornamented with three oval medallions framed by two rows of beads to keep it in between. The central medallion always represents a little figure of Indra coiffed with a cylindrical bonnet, seated in Indian style or kneeling on an elephant's head. The others generally represent horsemen facing front. The figures of this type of lintel are sometimes coarsely sculptured and seem to have been inspired by wood sculpture.

Type II is a modification of type I. The capitals and canopy are there but the makaras are replaced by the bouquets of flowers and arabesques. Three medallions are modified in the same way and do not present any figures. This is the most common type of the pre-Khmer art. Accorging to Parmentier, the first sub-type of type II intermediate does not carry any human figure but only motifs of foliage, the second sub-type has as principal motif a human figure treated as ornament. The capital and the arch are lacking, while they are there in the first sub-type. Coral Remusat[1] says that the style of the lintels of Sambor corresponds roughly to type I of Henry Parmentier and the style of Prei khmeng to type II, whereas the style of kompong Preah corresponds somewhat to the first sub-type of type II intermediate. They are characterised by the progressive replacement of Makaras, medallions and human figures by foliage. According to Coral Remusat type I and II of the lintels of pre-khmer art, represent the translation into stone of the more ancient entrance in light material. Type II intermediate[2] is the transition from types I and II to type III of classical art.

The fronton of the Khmer art is also not less important from architectural point of view. In the Khmer fronton can be seen the popular horse-shoe arch of India. Thus Coral Remusat says,[3] "The exaggerated horse-shoe arch of India is very exactly reproduced in most of the reductions of edifice sculptured on the exterior walls of the monument of the seventh and eighth centuries. But it seems that the arches of the true frontons have always received the form of inverted U, with bases sensibly enlarged; their decorartion seems to have been limited, generally to some rosaces and circles in relief; diposed from place to place"

Besides these architectural elements, a brief knowledge of the types of the biuildings is indispensable before we can proceed to discuss the actual buildings

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1. Coral Remusat – L' Art Khmer, p. 116.
2. Henri Parmentier – L' Art khmer primitif, Vol, I, p. 287. Fig. 6.
3. Coral Remusat – L' Art Khmer, pp. 62-63, Fig. 12.

and the temples of the Khmer. According to Parmentier[1] the buildings of the early architecture offer a very simple square or rectangular plan with plain walls without false doors or "flying palaces", striped only by pilasters and preceded by a vestibule. The roof of the main body of the building consists of many storeys, often reduced to a simple vertical face which carried a "terrasson in cyma" ornamented with the little niches with heads like those of the Pallava kudu.

Next to the above type, we have more or less the same type, except for the "reduction of edifice' or "flying palaces" in miniature mounted on the flying monsters carved on the interpilasters of the edifice. These flying palaces were translated in the seventh century into brick sanctuaries[2] The buildings of these two types are often aligned in a row of three or four, in the manner of the rathas at Mamallapuram[3] . But the difference lies in the fact that while in the case of the Rathas the main shrine is in the forefront, the Cambodian counterpart has the main shrine in the middle of the row. In the third type, the temples generally three are placed on more or less the same level and surrounded by enclosures. The temples called Ta Prohm, Banteay Kdei and Pre Rup are some of this type. In the fourth type we have the pyramid temples which consists of narrow terraces rising one above the other as Phimeanakas and Baphuon. In the fifth type, one sees the combination of the third and fourth types, that is, the enclosures are placed one within the other and each one is raised up to fifteen or twenty feet above the level of that outside so as to give the whole a pyramidal form like the temples of Angkor Vat and Bayon in the Angkor region. Besides these five types of temples, there are also scattered single temples.

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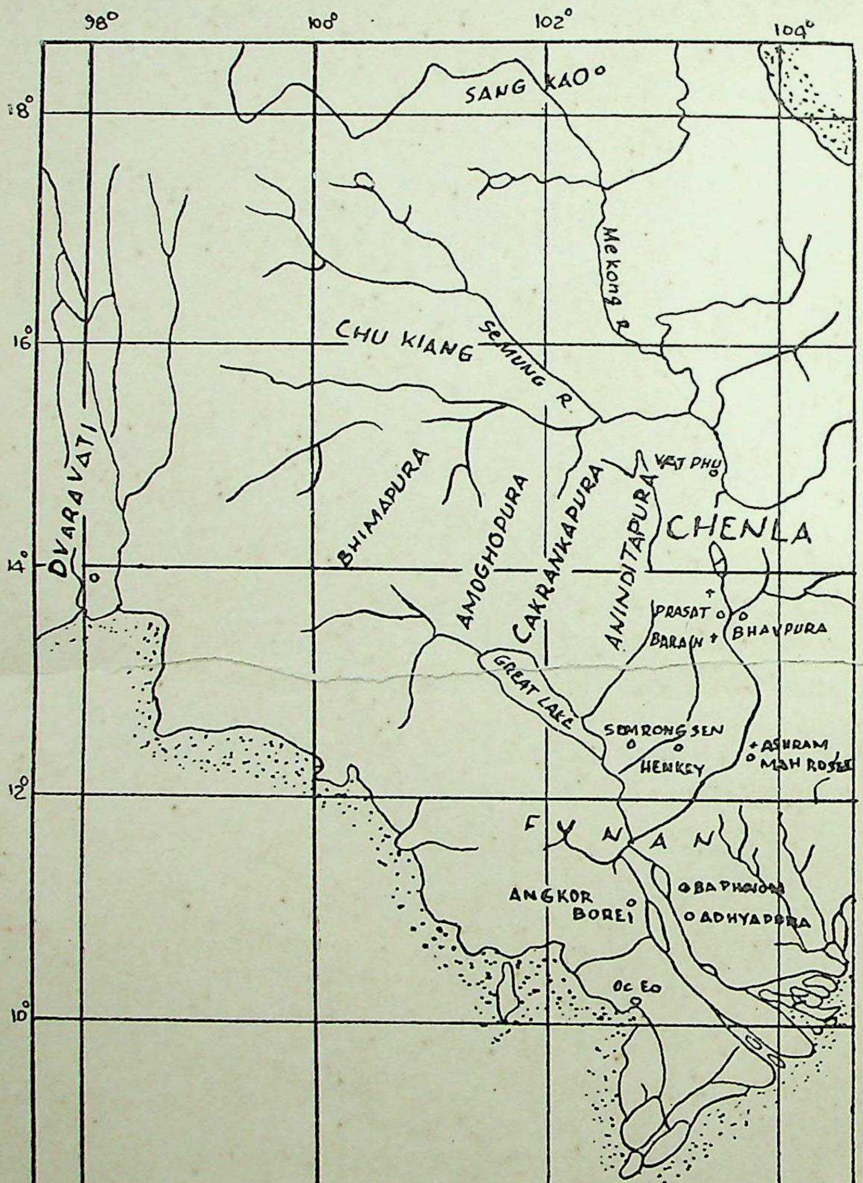
1. Compliment a l' art Khmer primitif – B. E. F. E. O. 1935, Vol. 35, p. 74.
2. Henry Parmentier – L' art Khmer primitif, 1927, Vol. I, p. 357.
3. Percy Brown – Indian architecture (Buddist and Hindu periods) Bombay, 1959, Pl. LXI.

Chenla and Funan



98°
100°
102°
104°
18°
16°
14°
12°
10°
SANG KAO
Mekong R.
CHU KIANG
SEMUNG R.
DVARAVATI
BHIMAPURA
AMOGHOPURA
CAKRANKAPURA
ANINDITAPURA
VAT PHU
CHENLA
PRASAT
BARAIN
BHAVPURA
GREAT LAKE
SEMRONG SEN
HENKEY
ASHRAM
MAH ROSEI
FUNAN
ANGKOR
BOREI
BAPHNOM
ADHYAPURA
OC EO

By courtesy of the American Philosophical Society.

Third Chapter

Pre-Khmer Architecture

The earliest group of monuments extant in Cambodia is at Sambor Prei Kuk, presumably Isanapura, the capital of Isanavarman. Here we find a number of individual cells set within a walled enclosure. All are grouped around a more impressive central shrine originally probably containing a cult image or a linga. The sanctuary N 19 (Plate 1) is certainly the oldest, built during the seventh century. It stands outside the enclosure. It is a small square brick edifice[1], opening to the west. The vault is corbelled and the floor paved with stone. The cuvette of the Somasutra is distinguishable. The cornice contains Kudus with heads. The door not projecting probably did not have decorative lintel. The sanctuary S 1 seems to have belonged to the reign of Isanavarman also, since two inscriptions of his reign have been discovered there. In this rectangular building we find for the first time, in pre-Khmer architecture, the reduction of edifices between the pilasters – the features found also in the Cham monuments during this period. The door presents some unusual features. The small columns show friezes with pendant garlands where birds with very stylized profile occupy the anses of the garlands. The lintels are of type II with their undulating arch. The medallions are replaced by lion heads with horned eyes on the south door, and Gajasinha head on the north door. Mme. Coral Remusat believes that one of the lintels shows the dance of Shiva.

The definitely Indian feature is met with at Hanchey (Hamsa Jaya) near Sambor (Plate 2), The shrine is rectangular, built of slabs of stone. The lintel of the porch bears a four-armed Vishnu Anantsayin. The roof is flat and made of stone slabs. Coomaraswamy[2] thinks there is a close resemblance between this shrine and the little shrine on the roof of the Lad Khan temple at Aihole or the Brahmanical shrine of Bhumara. Groslier suggests it is a relic chamber of the stupa. Besides, there are other two small shrines with pyramidal towers, one in brick and the other in laterite. Both have stone doorways and Makara lintels decorated with Hamsas with extended wings and Chaitya arches enclosing heads. Coomaraswamy thinks[3] that the Sambor Prei Kuk group is more Indian when he remarks on its monuments, "The whole group is more conspicuously Indian than

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[1] L 'art Khmer primitif, vol', p. 79

[2] History of Indian and Indonesion art, p. 181

[3] ibid., p. 182.

Hanchei and affords a substantial addition to our knowledge of late Gupta art" (Plates 1 and 3). The Mandapa near the brick sanctuary at Hanchey probably belongs to the Funan period. It is smaller and cruder than the Mandapa of Sambor Prei Kuk. Its lintel is a narrow band which rests on the small columns.

Also of the seventh century is the famous Asram Moharosei (Maharisi) or "Monastery of the Great Sage" which houses a statue of Harihara and which is located on Phnom Da near the site of Angkor Borei. According to Henri Mauger, it was originally built near the province of Kratie. The temple resembles the temple of Dieng plateau in Java. Mauger[1] calls it a connecting link between Indian and earlier Cambodian art and it is a survival of early stone architecture introduced into Funan from India at an ear y date. B. Ph. Groslier compares it with the Panamalai temple of the pallava architecture of the seventh century. Remarking on the Asram Moharosei, Coomarawamy says[2], "the whole effect is remarkably like that of the Pallava temple on the hill at Panamalai in Southern India" (Plate 4). The ground plan of Ásram Moharosei shows an interior cella separated from the outside wall by a passge probably for circumambulation (Pradaksina). According to Henri Marchal (Architecture comparee dans 1' Indeet 1' Extreme-Orient -p. 229) this is supposed to be the first case of Pradaksina so far discovered in the Combodian architecture. Another one may be at Bayon. But it is so obscure and lost in the thickness of the masonry.

Henri Parmentier has discovered nine brick monuments belonging to the Funan period. Seven, one of them in stone, are supposed to have belonged to the intermediate period. i, e., the period between Funan and Chela. In our classification the Funan and Chenla periods come under pre-Khmer period. The one in stone mentioned by Parmentier in the group of intermediate monuments is the Asram Moharosei we just discussed.

Prasat Preah Theat Toch which was afterwards the citadel of Banteay Prei Nokor or Banteay Prei Angkor in the province of Kompong Cham, is one of the temples of intermediate group. It is surrounded by a wall about two and a half kilometers square that encloses several groups of temples. The wall and other groups of temples were later constructed.

Prasat Preah Theat Toch group consists of three temples aligned east and west ant oriented to the north. The east sanctuary is the best preserved. It is a square brick edifice without vestibule and measures about 3.30 metres on each side. The door is very low and made of schist without any ornament. The other three walls are divided by pilasters into three undecorated panels. The shrine rises into about six meters in height with four superimposed terraces. The

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1. B. E. F. E. O. Vol. 36, pp, 65-95.
2. History of Indian and Indonesian Art, Fig. 203,

coronation stone is lacking. No lintels have been discovered from any of these temples. Inscriptions found there are supposed to have dated from the sixth century, according to Lunet de Lajonquiere. The building with superinposed terraces at once reminds us of the Vesara type in India of later period[1] .

Stupa architecture must have been prevalent during this period as well as the angkorean period, though we do not have traces of them at present. The monk Nagasena who was sent as an emissary to the imparial court of China in 484 A. D. is said to have presented ro the Emperor many things including a golden image of Nagaraja, a santalwood elephant and two ivory stupas.

The Chenla period of Cambodian architecture saw a further change. The buildings had square or rectangular plan, always accompanied by false door detached from a slightly projecting redent. The storeys were few but elevated with false bays corresponding to the doors of the lower or principal storey. The storeys were richly ornamented and chiselled and with panels of interpilasters provided with reductions of edifices, generally, flying palaces. The doors and false doors had the lintels chiefly of type II and II intermediate, but also sometimes of type I of Funan. This further change resulted in further development according to Henri Parmentier[2] . Each temple usually stood alone. However, groups of two or even three were found aligned. They were often accompanied by annexes, entrances, halls of columns and cellules. Though edifices generally consisted of a single hall, some of two rooms have been discovered near the mouth of the Mekong river and elsewhere also. The rectangular and square plans were common. Octagonal plan was occasionally found especially in the vicinity of sambor Prei kuk (Briggs, the ancient Khmer Empire, p. 75, fig, 11) The square[3] plan usually had diminishing stages like a pyramid, while the rectangular plán had gabled ends and pike-heads.

The interior and the exterior corresponded to each other and formed a corbelled vault sometimes in the form of successive drums and sometimes a bending of the walls. The ceiling which was made of wood disappeared as the traces indicated. The walls of a large hall were usually divided into pilasters. Only a Somasutra and a Snanadrona beak remained to show that the hall being of religious nature. The interpilasters were sometimes bare and were sometimes represented with flying palaces carried by winged monsters.

The door frame consisted of four monoliths forming a sill, the two uprights or pillars and lintels. The true lintel rested on the pillars, but ir was faced by a decorative lintel which rested on the colonettes outside of the true door. Behind

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1. O. C, Gangoly-Indian Architecture p. 59.
2. L'ar t presume du Funan—B. E. F. E. O. 1932, Vol. 32, pp, 183-189,
3. L'art Khmer primitif Vol. I, pp. 9-13,

the pilasters, on each side, were holes in the sill for the pivots of the ventails or leaves of the swinging door which were of wood and elaborately carved, The other three walls contained false doors corresponding to the true door, two ventails and an upright. The coating which gave us some idea of the actual decoration of the true door was now lost.

The foregoing brief information would help facilitate our understanding of the temples of this period. First, we have Prasat Bayang situated in the extreme southern part of Cambodia, not far from Angkor Borei. The temple is of brick slightly rectangular 7.30X10.00 meters on the outside. The door is made of four monolithic slabs of black basalt. The colonettes are round and the lintel of the door is of type II with five medallions, containing birds and fleuron. Beside the capitals are human Naga figures with hood of five serpents. The false doors represent in brick the decoration of the door. The colonettes of the false doors are also circular and the lintels are of type I. The interpilasters contain reductions of edifices with personages. The base and cornice are also decorated and the pilasters are richly scluptured. The walls of the two upper storeys produce on a smaller scale, the ornamentation of the principal storey. The storeys are not functional unlike the similar terraces of the Indian types. The crown on the monument is well preserved. The inscriptions found there date 604 A. D. However, the dedication of the temple is said to have been made about 640 A. D. by Bhavavarman II. The Mandapa was originally in brick though it is now in laterite according to Henri parmentier[1] . The keel roof of Bayang corresponds to that of the vesara type of the Bhimaratha at Mamallapuram[2] . Like the ground plan of Bhumara shrine in India, that of Bayang, shows an interior cella separated from the outside wall by a passage of circumambulation. In fact, earlier Khmer shrines at Sambor and Bayang are similar to those of Java. Both must have been derived from Indian prototypes. Coomaraswamy[3] was the first to see the Bayang temple as cognate, especially in its decoration, to the Gupta brick Laksmana temple of Sirpur (Plate 5),

In the early eighth century, the style of architecture is called the style of Prei Khmeng by coral Remusat. Out of the many ruined temples such as Prasat Neak Buos, Prasat Svay Pream, Prasat Prei Khmeng, Prasat Phnom Baset and Prasat Andet, the most important ones are Prasat Svay Pream and Prasat Andet.

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1. ibid., pp. 110-112.
2. Benjamin Rowland—The Art and Architecture of India 1959, Plate 112 B, also 117 B.
3. History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 93, fig. 186; Reginald Le May, The Culture of South-east Asia, First Indian Edition, Delhi, 1962, pp. 113-114.

Prasat Svay Pream is a group of three temples, all in brick and ruined, aligned north and south and oriented to the east near Roluos group. All that remain of the ruins are the lintels which show that the central temple belongs to a later period. The lintel of the north sanctuary belongs to the style of Sambor or the transitional period from it to the style of Prei Khmeng, according to Briggs. The lintel of the south sanctuary is considered the most beautiful of the later style, according to him. The earliest of these sanctuaries is considered the oldest existing monument of Angkor region. The lintels of Prasat Prei Khmeng, after which the name and style of this period is taken, show the first step of the replacement of the Makaras and the figures by motifs of foliage. In the lintel of the principal entrance, Gajasinhas mounted on human Nagas take the place of the Makaras [1].

Representing the end of the style of Prei Khmeng is Prasat Andet (Plate 6) according to Coral Remusat. It is a brick, rectangular and very elongated shrine, without any entrance hall. It is composed of three slowly retreating storeys as in the case of Prasat Bayang, terminated in two gables. The main body is redented with a door, a false door and a pilaster on each corner. In this shrine, too, is met with the flying palaces of the earlier shrines. The colonettes are finely chiselled with a decorative lintel of type II on top of them. The only abnormal feature here is that the false doors are without colonettes or ornamentation. The inner vault is irregularly corbelled. Traces on the top of the vault indicate that once there was a wooden ceiling which has disappeared. Some very interesting sculptures, including a statue of Harihara standing, have been discovered. The decoration of the Chenla period consisted chiefly of sculptures in very low relief on the colonettes, the lintels, the frontons, the pilasters and the flying palaces.

According to Briggs[2], "all the figures studied up to this time have shown a strong Indian influence. Towards the end of the Chenla period, this influence began to grow weaker and local influence appeared. The statues of this period were mostly of Harihara, sometimes of Vishnu Buddhic statues do not appear and authentic statues of Brahma and Siva are lacking, The representation of the standing Siva, and, to a large degree of Vishnu, are taken from that of Harihara'. This view is exactly in line with the opinion of Coomaraswamy[3] who says, "Purely Indian art in Cambodia disappears just at the time when permanent building materials, which are quite exceptional before the classic period, are first found. Classic Khmer art is, on the other hand, a unified style and fully developed

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1. B. E. F. E. O. Vol. 33, p. 1136.
2. Ancient Khmer Empire, p, 79.
3. History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 184.

when it appears for the first time in the sandstone buildings of the Prah Khan and Banteai Chhmar, and it preserves its essential character, though with internal development for, at least, three centuries".

About this time, another group of temples was built at Sambor Prei Kuk. It was named group C by the French archeologists. Other buildings contemporaneously built were Prasat Damrei Krap and Prasat Phum Prasat. The Principal monument of group C of Sambor Prei Kuk differs from other monuments of that ancient city both in architecture and in decoration and is considered to be of later date. It is a rectangular brick edifice surrounded by two nearly square enclosures. Early feature still persists, that is, a door and false doors. Peculiar little lions seated on both sides of each stairway have been called "Poodle lions" (Plate 7) The shrine measures 3·35 × 5·56 meters and is one of the largest temples of this early period. The colonettes are octagonal like those of Phnom Kulen which came immediately after them. The decoration too shows that it is intermediate between the style of Kompong Preah and that of Phnom Kulen. The lions are also immediate predecessors of those of Phnom Kulen. The lintels are of type II and II intermediate according to Henri Parmentier[1] .

Prasat Damrei Krap (the shrine of the Crouching Elephant) is situated a little west of Beng Mealea (Mealea is a Cambodian pronunciation of Mala, the river of flowers). It consists of a group of three brick Prasats and an enclosure aligned north-south and oriented to the east. The central Prasat which is in good preservation is a square cella with high vault irregularly corbelled. It has also three retreating upper storeys which give the illusion of considerable height. Some of the colonettes of the door and false doors are circular and some are octagonal. The lintels are of type II. It resembles closely the towers of Hoa lai of the Cham architecture in former Champa. So Stern[2] observes, "The relationship between Prasat Damrei Krap and the Cham monuments is more striking than can be imagined. Certainly the decoration in sandstone (lintels, colonettes, statues) remains Khmer but even in this decoration, light Cham influences infilter (knee-spread figures, monster and perhaps Naga of the lintels) but the edifice itself and its decorations on brick are cham. Disposition of pilasters on walls, tripartite divisions of corner pilasters, appliques at the base of the pilasters, cornices and ornaments of cornices with Atlantes analogous to the garudas of Hoa lai, expanded from the top of the pilasters of the first storey, wavy forms of the frontons with internal and external roll, great colonettes of brick of special profile at the false doors···, all these elements are Cham completely, totally Cham. One has the impression of a sanctuary built and decorated by a Cham architect, in

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1. L'art Khmer primitif Vol. I. pp. 49-50.
2. B.E.F.E.O. Vol. 38, pp. 136-137. (trans-by L. P. Briggs.)

which were inserted Khmer elements of decoration in sandstone, undoubtedly sculptured by Khmer sculptors, according to the Khmer tradition".

The next stage is the style of Kulen which was started on the plateau of Phnom Kulen, immediately to the north of the province of Siemreap. Here thirty temples have been discovered—all in ruin. One of the most ancient temples here is Krus Preah Aram-Rong Chen or Rong Chen near the centre of the city. It was a pyramid temple[1] of three gradings. Some scholars believe that Jayavarman II built this temple to house the royal Linga. It is the first temple which was associated with the Devaraja cult. It is noteworthy, in this connection, that the name Kambuja appeared for the first time during Jayavarman II's reign. He is said to have united the whole kingdom under his rule. According to R. C. Majumdar, one of his queens even took the name of Kambujalaksmi. Jayavarman II's reign started in 802 A. D. It was in this year when the Khmer declared independence from Java.

The Kulen architecture does not differ from the preceding period in plan but in type. This group has three prasats in a row and a sanctuary building facing the temple, all surrounded by an enclosure with a Gopura. The shrines are generally square and also represent the reduction of edifice of the early style. Wherever the walls are preserved, they reveal that the buildings were relatively high, having two or three slowly receding upper storeys, and a coronation. Generally they have a door and three false doors.

The end of Kulen style is seen in Prasat Neak Ta. It consists of four Prasats in a row along the road between Prasat Khting Slap (the shrine of the dead Taurus) and Prasat Kraham. The outside dimensions measure about eight meters, each side. Instead of having wooden ceiling as usual, this building has stone ceiling which gives the impression of being suspended. The reductions of edifice pictured on the pilasters, indicate that the sanctuary had three slowly retreating upper storeys, which gave it considerable height. Like the neighbouring Prasats it is oriented towards the west. This seems to be the practice of building the Vishnuite temples during the eighth and ninth centuries according to Dupont. The colonettes were octagonal. In the debris near by a statue of four-armed Vishnu was found and assigned to the style of Baphuon according to Parmentier. Lintels of this period show diverse forms, that is, past forms and forms with foreign influences. For example, some have convergent Makaras at the end of the arch and medallions with personages. The Javanese influence is seen in the divergent Makaras and in the Kala (a grimace lion-like mascaron evolved in Java and derived from China). The Cham influence is found in the arch. Some scholars think that Jayavarman II imported these elements from Java

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[1] B. E. F. O. Vol. 38, p. 156.

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as he is said to have lived in exile there before he returned to Cambodia. The octagonal colonettes appeared about this time and persisted during the period of the classical Khmer art[1] .

Coming within this period, that is the second half of the eight century and the ninth century, are the transitional styles of Svay Pream, Trapeang Phong, Kok Po and Kutisvara. The decorations of this period do not show any special characteristics. The colonettes continue like those of Kulen. The lintels are of three types. The first type shows the Kala and Makara united as in Java, i.e. Kala in the centre and Makaras divergent at the ends. The second type shows Vishnu mounted on Garuda. The Garuda has nose turned up with Nagas mounted at the ends as in Java. The third type shows Garuda alone in the centre ending also in Nagas[2] .

The period of architectural activities, which have been discussed, covers the pre-Khmer art as a whole. As we have shown, there is some similarity between the temples of this period and those of the Pallava and Gupta periods in India. The sculptures of pre-Khmer period, too, are more related to Indian models of Gupta period. The Buddha images found at Takeo and Prei Krabas according to Benjamin Rowland, show the same gentle dehancement and transparent sheath-like robes which are definitely derived from the Gupta Buddhas of Sarnath and some of the later Gupta rock-cut images in cave XIX at Ajanta. While Coomaraswamy[3] commenting on the Khmer sculpture of this period, believes "The Cambodian figures exhibit a miraculous concentration of energy combined with the subtlest and most voluptuous modelling. Works of this kind are individual creations-not, that is to say, creations of personal genius unrelated to the racial imagination, but creations of a unique moment". Elsewhere, Coomaraswamy attached great importance to the relation between the pre-Khmer sculpture and that of the Gupta in India as Benjamin Rowland does.

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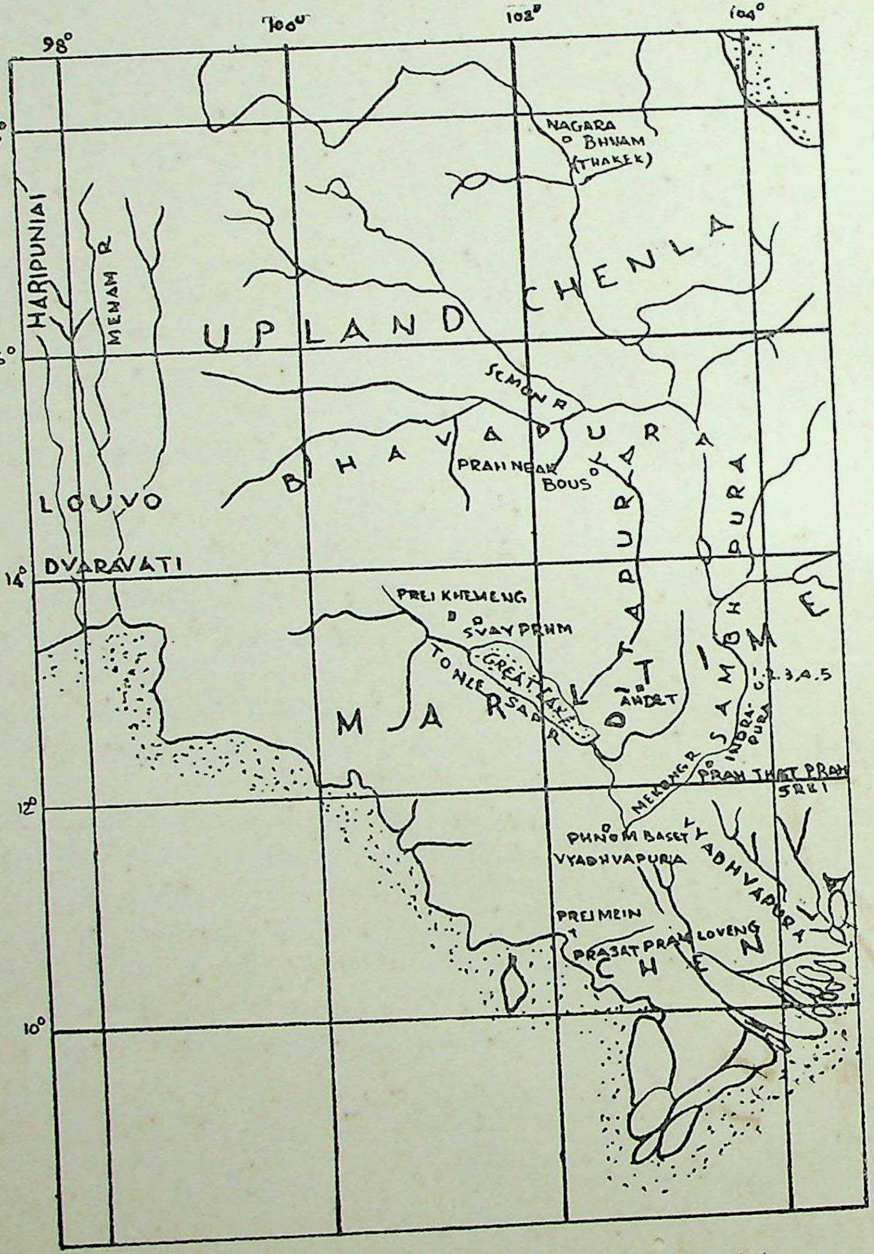
1. Coral Remusat-L'art Khmer, p. 118.
2. B.E.F.E.O. Vol. 38, p. 186-189.
3. History of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 133.

Upland and Maritime Chenlas


98°
100°
102°
104°
18°
16°
14°
12°
10°
NAGARA BHUAM (THAKEK)
HARIPUNJAI
MENAM R.
UPLAND CHENLA
SEMON R.
BHAVAPURA
PRAH NEAK BOUS
LOUVO
DVARAVATI
ADHYAPURA
SAMBHUPURA
PREI KHMENG
SVAY PRHM
GREAT LAKE
TONLE SAP R.
MARITIME CHENLA
ANDET
INDRAPURA
C. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5
MEKONG R.
PRAH THAT PRAH SREI
PHNOM BASET
VYADHVAPURIA
VYADHVAPURA
PREI MEIN
PRASAT PRAH LOVENG

By courtesy of the American Philosophical Society.

Fourth Chapter

Classical Khmer Architecture

The classical period of the Khmer architecture which lasted until the thirteenth century actually set in the ninth century. Scholars believe that it was the result of the style derived from the indigenous wooden architecture, forms and technique imported from India. Parmentier[1] observes, "The original timber buildings, consisted of halls or galleries surrounded by angular tiled roofs, often multiplied or piled up in pyramidal fashion may be seen even in the modern architecture of Combodia, Siam and Burma".

This is met with for the first time in the architecture of the Roluos style. The temples are square with redent on each face and are arranged in six or eight on the same terrace. Each stands on its own pedestal of brick or stone. Here again for the first time, the groups of temples are surrounded by concentric enclosures. The false inner ones have the walls of laterite with Gopuras (entrance towers) or false Gopuras at each entrance. The outer enclosure consists of a moat[2] and enbankment of earth with a wooden palisade. The accessory buildings are within the second enclosure. The rectangular plan with gables at the ends has disappeared during the Kulen period, except for some accessory buildings such as libraries and galleries which are beginning to appear in stone. The shrine usually consists of the principal body and four upper storeys. The principal body has a door, opening to the east and false doors on other three sides. The inter-pilasters of the principal body are provided with niches, carved in stone with overhanging arch sheltering a human figure, male or female according to the divinity sheltered by the temple. The flying palaces have disappeared for ever. Niches take the place of the false doors on the succeeding stages. As has been pointed out elsewhere inside the temple, the floor is a few feet below the level of the threshold. The ceiling that covers the corbelled vault has disappeared. It was originally made of wood.

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1. Henri Parmentier—The History of Khmer Architecture, Eastern Art Vol. 3, 1931 pp. 147 ff.

2. Up to the present time, the Khmer people living in the region of Angkor, call the moat around the temple 'Di Sin' probably derived from the Sanskrit and Pali word 'Sindhu'. It serves as a river for water ablution. In the case of royal palace, the moat serves the purpose of defence. (The latter follows Kautilyasastra's instruction). Venerable Huot Tat, Some Prasats at Angkor, Phnom, Penh, 1928, p. 31 (written in Khmer).

At first the Gopuras are square like the temples with low openings and a square hall. They are surmounted by four storeys like the sanctuaries, but sometimes attain greater dimensions than the latter. The earlier Gopuras shelter the guarding deity of the temple according to Lunet de Lajonquiere. The type of buildings in the inner enclosure, in front of the temple and facing the latter, one on each side, if two, if only one, always on the right side of the temple, is called library, by the local people. An inscription there discovered by Lunet de Lajonquiere proves it as a library. The library type appears to have first been built in masonry during the reign of Indravarman (877-889 A. D.) at Preah Ko and Bakong. The buildings are rectangular with gabled ends[1].

After the Roluos group, we come to the style of Preah Ko. The group of Preah Ko is situated in the Angkor region. It was built during the reign of Indravarman. It consists of six towers on a terraced pyramid surrounded by four enclosures. The outer enclosure measures about 450 X800 meters and consists of a moat probably surrounded by a palisade. It encloses two basins. The other three enclosures are surrounded by walls cut by Gopuras on the east and west axes. The third enclosure about 215 meters square is also preceded by a ditch. The second enclosure about 95 meters square, encloses a single library on the right, and annexes. The first enclosure 60 meters square is at the base of the pyramid.

The central towers are aligned in two rows of three each on a terrace. All are of plastered brick and the coating has been detected. The front towers are a little larger than those in the rear. The first and most interesting evolution of the Devaraja cult created by Jayavarman II, appeared during this time, i.e., Indravarman's time. Here in the front towers are placed the statues of Siva under the vocables, from north to south respectively, of Rudresvara, Paramesvara and Prithivindresvara, i.e., Jayavarman II, founder of the dynasty (under his posthumous name) in the center, Rudravarman, maternal grand-father and Prithivindravarman, father of Indravarman. Similarly the three temples of the second row contain statues of Gauri, wife of Siva, under the vocables from north to south, of Narendradevi, Dharanindradevi, and Prithivindradevi representing the wives of Rudravarman, Jayavarman II and Prithivindravarman. respectively[2].

Next in succession is the temple of Bakong (Plate 8 built in Ca. 881 A. D. during the reign of the same monarch i.e. Indravarman). It consists of (1) a central pyramid 60 meters square at the base and 15 meters high, with two brick

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1. Henri Parmentier—History of the Khmer architecture. Eastern Art Vol. 3, p. 160.
2. Notes sur les degagements du Prasat Koh Po, B. E. F. E. O. Vol. 37 pp. 361-78, L'art d'Indravarman, B.E.F.E.O. Vol. 19, pp. 7-17. See also J.N. Banerjea—The Development of Hindu Iconography, 1956, p. 38.

towers on each side of the base and twelve small stone prasats on the fourth gradins, (2) a laterite wall with four Gopuras, enclosing the pyramid and its edifices, (3) a second enclosure vacant, surrounded by a large moat, crossed by causeways in the eastern and western direction, (4) another laterite enclosure outside the moat cut by Gopuras, and (5) a moat with embankment, with causeways on the four sides. The outside enclosure measures about 650X850 meters. The inscription there speaks of the erection of the temple by Indravarman I. The central building is a redented square temple of four upper gradins with the height of more than 10 meters. Like those of Prẹah ko, they contain images of Siva under the vocables of the ancestor of the king plus Isvara and Devi,according as the images are meant to represent male and female royal members respectively. It has been supposed by Henri Parmentier and others that the niches of the interpilasters of the eastern temples originally contained male images and those of western temples, female images. Of the enclosures, the two causeways across the inner moat, which supported balustrades in Nagas on the ground, became a familiar sight in the later period, when they were placed on blocks or held by giants. These are now fully preserved on the causeways of Angkor Vat and Angkor Thom. B. Ph. Groslier feels that the similarity between the Bakong temple and Borobudur is striking when he says[1], "But no one, it would seem, has yet realized the astonishing resemblance between Bakong and Borobudur. The use of stone, the plan of superimposed terraces of decreasing size ascended by axial stairs which are sheltered by a pavilion at the base; numerous detail of decoration; the likeness is indeed striking, if one remembers that one is a Buddhist and the other is a Saivite shrine".

About the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth century, we find, for the first time in the classical period, a very large temple ever attempted by the Khmer kings. It is the Phnom Bakheng built during the reign of Yasovarman. Victor Goloubew fixes the location of Vnam Kantal of the first Yasodharapura at Phnom Bakheng. The temple was dedicated to the Devaraja cult and made in imitation of Mount Meru. While the Siemreap river flowing near by is taken as a symbol of the sacred Ganges. The natural hill rising to a height of 65 meters is faced with masonry and made into five gradings. The facing of the masonry on the hill slope to make shrine reminds us of Abhayagiri Stupa at Anuradhapura, in Ceylon. The base of the hill is surrounded by a moat and an artificial levee 440X 650 meters elongated east-west. The four stairways decorated with lions on either side lead to the top of the mount. There are Gopuras at the base. The causeways continue from stairways to the outer limits of the city. The stages along the top of the hill contain sixty little towers

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1. The Art of the world (Indochina) 1962 p. 99.

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and thirty-six brick towers are arranged around the base. The plateau-artificially made-on the top of the hill measures 100X200 meters. On it are five square sandstone towers arranged in quincunx on the same level and open to the four cardinal points.

The arrangement of the towers in quincunx and the artificial plateau were new features in the Khmer architecture. This arrangement was an important step which became a familiar sight in the later period. The central tower on the top houses the Devaraja under the name of Yasodharesvara. The remains of the bas-reliefs showing scrolls, apsaras and celestial dancers have been discovered. Groslier has offered us an interesting interpretation of the arrangement of Phnom Bakheng. He said, "The towers are so cleverly arranged that when looked at from the middle of one side, only thirty-three can be seen at once. This coincides with the thirty-three divinities inhabiting Mount Meru in Indian mythology". Further says he[1], "Moreover, one hundred and eight (probably Groslier also counted the Gopuras to make 108) is four times twenty-seven, thereby representing the four phases of the moon and the twenty-seven lunar mansions, that is, the days".

As regards its style, Henri Parmentier groups it in the Art of Indravarman. But Stern and Coral Remusat give it a special style of Bakheng which covers the art of this period. The Nagas did not appear at the time. The lions[2] are all seated like those of Roluos and Kulen. They are the most natural lions of the Khmer art according Briggs. Of the same style as that of Phnom Bakheng, are two other temples at Phnom Krom and Phnom Bok in the Siemreap province.

According to Coral Remusat's classification, the next group is Baksei Chamkrong (plates 9,10, 11,12). It may have been erected by Harshavarman I. But Henri Parmentier is of the view that the golden image of Paramesvara (Siva) was dedicated to the shrine by Rajendravarman II in his fourth year. Baksei Chamkrong is a small brick tower raised on a slender laterite pyramid of four stages, 27 meters square at the base, 15 meters square at the top and 12 meters high. The tower is a redented square shrine with a door facing east and three false doors. The slender pyramid resembles that of Prasat Thom in the Koh Ker group and the later Phimeanakas. It is surrounded by an enclosure of which the ruins of a Gopura have been discovered[3] . L. P. Briggs and Parmentier are perfectly right in attributing Baksei Chamkrong to Harshavarman as the shrine is situated at the foot of Phnom Bakheng. An inscription of a later date (947 A. D.) says "For the exercise of Dharma and following the example of his fathers, he

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[1] ibid. p. 103.

[2] L. P. Briggs - The Khmer Empire p. 112.

[3] L' Art d' Indravarman - B. E. F. E. O., Vol. 19, pp. 1-98.

(Harshavarman) erected here at the foot of Mount Indra (i. e. Phnom Bakheng), olden images of two Ishvaras, as well as those of Vishnu and two Devis[1] ". These images are believed to have represented respectively, Isvaraloka (Indravaraman I), Paramasivaloka (Jayavarman III) and the wives of the kings. Some western scholars seem to attribute to Baksei Chamkrong and other shrines like Prasat Thom and Phimeanakas as the forerunner of Sat Mahal Prasad at Polonnaruva in Ceylon. However, Dr. S. Paranavitana[2] , the former commissioner of Archaeology of Ceylon, says, "In point of architectural design and embellishment, the edifices at Polonnaruva have hardly any features which remind one of Cambodian monuments, apart from a detail or two which can be due to the common origin of the two cultures. The Sat Mahal Prasad at Polonnaruva has its counterpart in a Stupa at Lamphun in northern Siam, but Stupas of this type were not unknown in Anuradhapura; the Siamese as well as the Sinhalese monuments of this class are derived from prototypes which existed in India in ancient times"[3] .

In the second quarter of the tenth century, a considerable advance was made in Khmer architecture. The galleries which were dimly hinted at in Bakong, Phnom Krom and Phnom Bakheng, now developed into a continuous series. This is witnessed at Chok Gargyar or Koh Ker in Prasat Thom. The shrine does not have arrangement of towers in quincunx as at Phnom Bakheng. Built in 921 A. D., it was dedicated to Tribhuvanesvara. It is a pyramidal shrine 36 meters high. This was the first architectural adventure as compared with the Bakong which was 15 meter high. It is noteworthy that the feature of the building has no change except for a continuous series of galleries that run between the first and the second enclosures of the Prasat. All of the temples built at this place sheltered the Lingas—some lingas are so gigantic and naturalistic. The linga in Prasat Thom is probably the largest known in Cambodia. Parmentier estimates that it is 4ᴹ 50 high and weighs 24·3 metric tons ; In three of the inscriptions there, Jayavarmam IV told us of his exploit in raising it to the top of the pyramid. The extreme point of this pyramid, according to Parmentier[4] , probably reached the height of 65 meters. This is higher than any towers of Angkor Thom and about equal to the height of Angkor Vat. Lunet de Lajonquiere says that the use of carpentry was found there.

As regards the Chok Gargyar decorations, we find that in the bent centre of the lintels there is Vishnu or one of his Avataras and sometimes Indra or Brahma, The lintels are often enclosed between two decorative bands. The upper one

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1. B. E. F, E. O. Vol. 28. p. 94.
2. Art and Architecture of Ceylon (Polonnaruva period) Bombay, 1954, p. 26.
3. S. Paranavitana - Stupa in Ceylon - Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Memoirs, Vol. V, p. 97.
4. L' Art Khmer Classique - Vol. I, Paris, 1939 pp, 109·110.

generally consists of a row of heads or of personages in bust in niches. The border of the frontons are generally iike those of Bakheng derived from the Indian horse-shoe window or arch. But triangular frontons appear to be independent of the art of India. The tympans generally correspond to the lintels with personages mixed with floral decorations. At the center, is generally a single personage, a divinity mounted on his Vahana. Human sculptures are like those of Bakheng. We find the same Dvarapalas holding a trident with a long handle and apsaras with striped clothes. The five-headed Siva at Prasat Kraham is an unusual specimen. In the niches are a series,of bust figures the representatives of the nine planets, eight mothers as sculptued on the edge of a stone at Ang Khna. For animal sculptures, here we find, for the first time, a Garuda with wings outspread, chasing a gigantic Naga, the caprisoned elephants of the foundation of Prasat Damrei and the lions shown seated, lying and standing. It is noteworthy that the lying and standing lions were and are unknown anywhere else in Khmer architecture, according to Briggs.

One of the smallest and most beautiful temples of the Khmer during the classical period is Banteay Srei (Ladies' Citadel, Plates 13,14). It was discovered in 1914 by Lieuteuant Marec. Many precious pieces of this temple were stolen by European thiefs, in the words of Parmentier[1]. Henri Marchal, Conservator of the group of Angkor then, with great care, successfully reconstructed it. Its date which has been a controversy for a long time, is now fixed as 967 A. D., since the discovery of new inscriptions there. It was built during the reign of Jayavarman V,(968-1001 A.D.). Here for the first time in the history of the Khmer architecture that the temple is not associated with a king but with a Brahman-Brahman Yajnavaraha, the grandson of Harshavarman I and tutor of Rajendravarman and Jayavarman V. The temple was dedicated to Siva in the city called Isvarapura. Writing many years ago, Benjamin Rowland[2] dated the temple to 1304 A. D. during the reign of Srindravarman. But this view and the like others have been dropped.

The temple consists of three shrines built on a platiform. It is a prolongation of the plan of Sambor and Lolei. Its enclosure with Gopuras reminds one of the South Indian architecture. The towers have cruciform plan. Each cella has a true door and three false doors, the type we met with in the earlier period. This steep pyramidal shrine is highlighted by a Kalasa final of earlier Khmer architecture. Small turrets connect one shrine to another.

The highest achievement of the Khmer sculpture is met with here. The apsaras and Devatas stand with graceful charm in the niches between the interp-

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1. Angkor (Guide), Phnom-Penh 1960 p. 195.
2. The Art and Architecture of India (Reprinted edition) 1957, p. 224.

ilasters. The walls are profusely covered with floral scrolls interrupted only by niches. The Dvarapalas in the niches are graceful with soft and warm flesh. They are tall and wear the Dhoti normally found on the body of Siva with matted hair. The ears are long and the big top knot on the head reminds us of the matted hair of Siva. However, the towers or Sikharas which show an originality in their design and a marked play of imagination in the shape of the curved arches over the doors and alcoves and sculptural elements, bear little relatlon to the Sikharas of India according to Percy Brown.

The Principal shrine[1] contained originally a linga but is now lost. The north tower houses an image of Vishnu while the south one shelters an image of Siva with Uma seated gracefully on his lap. It was removed by Lieutenant Marec to decorate the National Museum in Phnom Penh. The two other small structures are called libraries. The one in the south corresponds to the second temple of Siva and is illustrated with scenes from the legend of Siva. While that in the north near the shrine of Vishnu contains scenes from Krishna's life.

Next is phimeanakas (Pali : Vimana akasa : celestial palace) constructed during the last years of the tenth century and early eleventh century covering the reigns of Jayavarman V and Suryavarman I. Henri Parmentier thinks that Phimeanakas appears to have been commenced during the reign of Rajendravarman II (944-968 A. D.) at the time he moved his capital from Koh Ker to Angkor.

It consists of three gradins making a rectangular pyramid. On the top a little cross-shaped tower, something like the tower of Takeo is surrounded by a little enclosure. Outside and around the enclosure runs a gallery—a little but charming gallery in sandstone. The shrine is a slender pyramid resembling the "Prang" of Prasat Thom and the sanctuary of Baksei Chamkrong. At present, though there are still stairways on the four faces, visitors can have a less difficult access to the shrine on the top of the gradins by a stairway at the western side. The pyramid is 28 x 35 meters at the base, elongated east-west and consists of three large gradins in laterite of a total height of 12 meters. Each gradin has a little platform wide enough for a man to walk around it. An elephant is placed at each corner of the shrine, while lions are placed at each side of the stairways. The gallery is wholly surrounded by the rectangular space at the top. These were innovations of the period.

The galleries are small, scarcely more than a meter wide and two meters high under the vault. Here we find the vaulting in stone, for the first time. At the head of each stairway is a little Gopura.

In the center of the rectangular space on the top is a high foundation in cross with three gradins also; the lower one in laterite and the other two in sandstone (Plate 13 C. showing the type of its plan). Henri Parmentier[1] is of the opinion that the foundation in the center on the top was constructed by Suryavarman I, who then placed on it a high gilded tower, "The Mountain of the Golden Horn" of the inscriptions and the "Tower of Gold" of Chou ta-Kuan. The terraced pyramid is attributed to Rajendravarman and Jayavarman V is said to have put up the gallery. The inscriptions of Takeo B, dated 1000 A. D. says, "He (Jayavarman) appointed Sivacharya, inspector of qualities and defects on Hemasringiri"[2] So Parmentier thinks this was the central mount of Jayavarman V's new royal city of Jayendrapuri, the abode of Jayesvara. While Briggs feels that it is too small to have served as the central temple of the Devaraja. He argues that the space in the gallery is too narrow to permit free circulation of the crown, the strairways are deep and almost inaccessible. If Briggs considers the stairways as deep and not suitable for a Devaraja mount, how does he explain away the deep stairways leading up to the central tower of Angkor Vat ? The practice of making deep stairways, in fact, seems to have been the taste of the Khmer architects throughout the countries. The reason is not far to seek. It must have served to give the illusion of height.

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[1] The Art & Architecture of India (Reprinted edition 1957) p. 199.

There is a very interesting legend concerning Phimeanakas as recorded by Chou ta-Kuan, the Chinese historian who visited Cambodia in the thirteenth century. The king is said to have spent the first watch in the Phimeanakas every night with the Naga princess. The welfare of the kingdom depended on their union. Thus it shows that the legend of Kaundinya, the founder of Funan and the Naga princess was still continued but in a different garb (P. Pelliot, Memoires surles coutnmes du Cambodge de Tcheou ta-Kouan , Paris, 1951, pp, 154, 155).

The classical Khmer art attained ite most prolific and highest achievment during the last years of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries when architecture, sculpture and even the arrangement of the plan—all reached their unprecedented climax. Many gigantic and beautiful temples were built in close succession and belonged to the style of Angkor Vat, the monument considered as one of the great wonders of the world.

During this period, that is, the second half of the classical Khmer period, we meet with the cruciform plan reminiscent of the Chalukya architecture in India. The central sanctuary is connected to different edifices or ritual halls. During the tenth or eleventh century, a hall is placed immediately in front of the central cella connected with the circumambulatory passage. This is called Mandapa in Cambodia and India and not known in Java and Champa. While in India, there are

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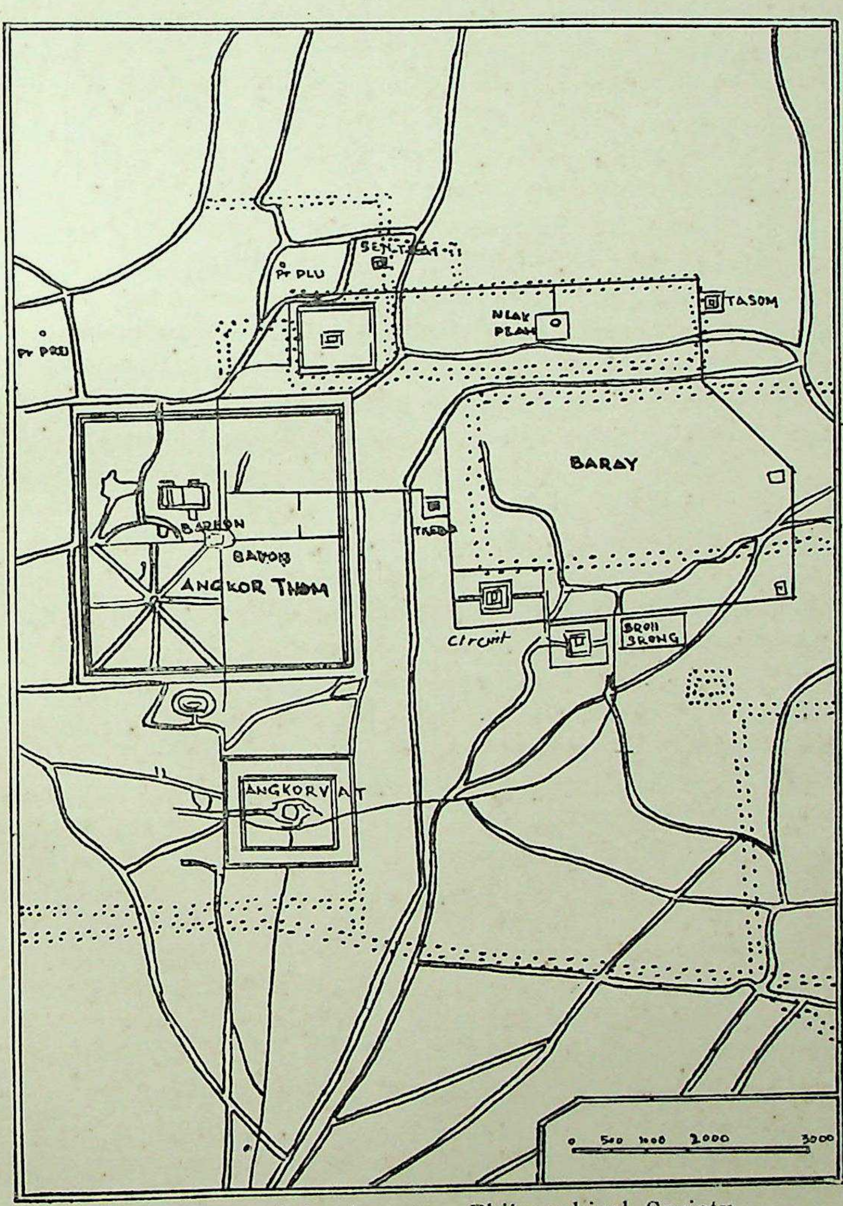
1. The Art & Architecture of India (Reprinted edition 1957) p. 91.
2. Hemasringagiri means "The Mountain of Golden Pinnacle or golden peak" in this context, and cannot be translated as "The Mountain of Golden Horn". (M. Monier-Williams, Sanskrit-English Dictionary see under Sringa). Thus 'The Tower of Gold' of Chou ta-kuan is the correct translation.

Angkor Region


SEN-TMAI
Pr PLU
Pr PREI
NEAK PEAN
TASOM
BARAY
BAPHON
BAYON
ANGKOR THOM
TAKEO
Circuit
SRAH SRANG
ANGKORVAT
0 500 1000 2000 3000

By courtesy of the American Philosophical Society.

annexed chapels housing the Vahana of the deities, in Camdodia there are two little edifices so-called libraries that precede the entrance to the main sanctuary or flank the latter. A peculiar characteristic of the Cambodian architecture at this stage is the plan of successive diminution in height and size of the many adjacent rooms of the main shrine as they are farther and farther from the latter. Similarly is the peculiar construction of the gallery isolated or supported on pillars.

One of the earliest and enormous buildings of Angkor Vat style is Preah Khan of Kompong Svay constructed in the early twelfth century, probably during the reign of Suryavarman II in the region of the Province of Kompong Thom. It consists of a central sanctuary and four enclosures besides many accessory buildings, basins, moats and temples, some of them outside of the outer enclosure. The exterior enclosure measures nearly 5 kilometers square on the outside and is composed of three parallel earthen embankments, the central one is a little higher than the others and two intermediate ditches, the whole about 250 meters wide, A causeway leads through the east side to the central shrine.

The inner enclosure which measures 48 x 50 meters, contains a cruciform sandstone sanctuary on a platform of two stages. The sanctuary is open on all four sides, surrounded by a gallery, with windows opening towards the interior and large Gupuras at each radial axis. Two libraries are preceded by ante-chambers. The central sanctuary is now a mass of ruin. The galleries are in stone and follow the style of Takeo and Phimeanakas in vaulting system, Briggs thinks that stone pillars seem to have been used here for the first time in supporting the galleries. The Gopuras which have telescope annexes on all sides remind us of similar well-known feature in the Burmese architecture at Mandalay.

Preah Khan of Kompong Svay is credited as the first temple, in the Khmer architecture, to have true galleries and also the first in having the galleries formed by an arched roof of sandstone on pillars. In early galleries the wooden beams were employed and enclosed in the stone of the first course of the arch above the architrave.

The central sanctuary and the outer enclosure of this monument were probably constructed early in the reign of Suryavarman I, according to L. P. Briggs. This is proved by an undated inscription discovered there. While the second enclosure together with the monuments within it are supposed to have belonged to the reign of Suryavarman II. Jayavarman VII, the Ashoka of the Khmer people, gets the credit of having built the third enclosure and its monuments. He is supposed to have been responsible for the completion of the fourth enclosure including the Baray and the monuments connected with it. The third enclosure is made of laterite wall cut by Gopuras at the four radial axes and surrounded by a moat. It is about 700 x 1100 meters and is larger than the outer enclosure of Preah Khan of Angkor and Ta Prohm. The monuments within this enclosure are a Dharmasala in sandstone and a little monument in sandstone and laterite which contain the undated inscription. While the outer enclosure measures nearly 5000x5000 meters. This enclosure is the biggest ever made by the Khmer architect. It should be mentioned here in passing that the outer enclosure of Preah Khan of Angkor is 640 × 820 meters while that of Angkor Vat is 1300 × 1500 meters only. The Baray, an artificial lake which measures 600 × 3000 meters cuts the fourth enclosure at its eastern axis and extends about half its length inside the enclosure. The same system is met with in the case of Beng Mealea and Benteay Chhmar. 'An accessory building called Mebon is placed on an island in the centre of Baray'. It consists of a cruciform sanctuary in sandstone and is surrounded by a rectangular wall cut at the radial axes by cruciform Gopuras on east and west and enclosing two libraries. The decorations are highlighted by the tricephalic elephants like those of the Gopuras of the Angkor Thom. At the corner are placed mighty Garudas like those of Banteay Kdei. At the inner end of the Mebon, on the axis of the central sanctuary is Prasat Preah Stung, said to be the only sanctuary in Cambodia which is surmounted by a face-tower. It is preceded on the east by a cruciform terrace. Then not far from the former there is another terrace built over the water of Baray. Remarkable pieces of sculpture on the walls of this terrace are the rows of Hamsas with three-headed Hamsas at the corners. Outside the enclosure at the south-eastern corner of the Baray is Prasat Preah Damrei. It is a square pyramid of 12 low gradins and about 15 meters high. It is believed that the sanctuary in question was once crowned by a sanctuary in light material. On each side of the upper stairway of the pyramid are lions and Dvarapalas. The life size caparisoned elephants feature on the upper corner. The best pieces of the sculpture of this shrine were looted by Delaporte[1]

According to Coral Remusat, the Preah Khan of Kompong Svay must have played a very important role in religious life during the Mahayana period ending with the reign of Jayavarman VII.

Within 400 meters east of the southeast corner of East Baray, is a beautiful temple called Banteay Samre (Plate 15) which is well preserved. The shrine is situated on a flat plan, slightly rectangular. It consists of a central sanctuary and two enclosures. The sanctuary is oriented towards east, but the main gate of the enclosure faces west. This reminds us exactly of the position of the Shore-temple built in 700 A. D. in Mamallapuram in India. But in the latter, there is no eastern gate because of the sea-shore. From the western gate of Banteay Samre there is a path leading to the East Baray and another cuts through the eastern gate to the great basin about 250 yards to the east.

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1. Louis Delaporte–Voyage en Cambodge L' Architecture Khmere Paris 1880, pp. 58–59.

The central sanctuary is a square sandstone building, with porches on all sides and false doors on the three sides in the manner of the shrines of pre-Khmer period. On the east of the shrine is a rectangular hall. The shrine itself has a very high first storey rising well above the porches with their superimposed frontons and four mnch redented slowly receding upper storeys. With a circular coronation on the top, the shrine measures 21 meters from the ground. Briggs thinks that from this coronation an ornament in wood or metal was probably projected. Two libraries with long porticos are placed at their usual location i.e. situated on either side of the path facing the temple.

The inner enclosure consists of a laterite gallery 80 x 85 meters cut by sandstone Gopuras. The principal Gopura is on the side opposite that to which the sanctuary is oriented. This is entirely due to the proximity of the East Baray in that direction. The walls of this gallery are very high. Highly placed windows with balustrades on the three sides serve to light the exterior, while the south side is lighted from the exterior. These galleries were probably covered with light material, but no trace of a covering has been found. Briggs thinks that the trunconic tower of the sanctuary which bears a resemblance to Phimai is a last step before the towers of Angkor Vat. The best pieces of sculpture here are the lintels, frontons, antefixes and the Naga balustrades. Many scenes from the life of Vishnu definitely indicate a Vishnuite shrine. Henri Parmentier, however, feels that it may have been a Buddhist shrine.

Next, we come to the superb and greatest architectural creation of the Khmer in the form of the great Angkor Vat (Plate 16). It is considered as one of the great Wonders of the World. Thus its style is applied to many magnificent buildings in the Angkor region—some of which we have discussed. It was the creation of Suryavarman II (1112–1152 A. D.). Some believe that it was designed by his great minister called Divakarapandita. It was a mountain-temple dedicated to the Devaraja worship.—That it could be the undertaking of the great minister mentioned above is proved by an inscription of Suryavarman II at Preah Vihear. Suryavarman II himself appears twice in the bas-reliefs of Angkor Vat and is called by his posthumous name as Paramavishnuloka, Some of the bas-reliefs must have been carved during the reign of one of his successors.

Situated about a mile to the south of Angkor Thom, this shrine covers a space of 4130.000 sq. ft. According to J. Fergusson[1] the great temple at Karnak (Thebes) covers an area of 430.000 sq. feet only. Angkor Vat has a rectangular plan surrounded by a moat of 650 ft. broad and 21/2 miles in length. The outer dimension of the moat is about 1300 × 1500 meters. The bridge crossing over the moat is approached by a causeway 36 ft. across and 1500 ft. long, elevated 7 ft. above the ground. The records tell us that the vast amount of earth taken from

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[1] History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II, P. 381,

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the moat was piled up in the center on which the central sanctuary (Plate 17) was built. Curiously enough the main entrance to the temple is from the west. The entrance is over a causeway lined on either side by balustrades in the form of gigantic Nagas, as in the case of Beng Mealea, raising their enormous hoods to the height of 4 meters with threatening expression at the visitors.

The monument marks a final successful integration of the vertical and horizontal elements according to Benjamin Rowland. Percy Brown[1] was right when he said, "As a correlation of the parts to the whole in the measured movement of the entire conception, in a word, in the cadency of its articulation it has no equals". The foundation is a stone platform of over 3000 ft. on a side. The whole set up of this gigantic temple, consists of the two external enclosures, the approaches, the three concentric galleries, the central mass, the large tower in the center, the smaller towers on the corners of the inner galleries, a small library on either side of the entrance hall and other three smaller galleries on the west entrance of the outer enclosure. The first enclosure measures 815 × 1000 meters, the second is 270 × 340 meters and the outer dimensions of the moat are 1300 × 1500 meters. Then the first terrace, that is, the lowest, surrounded by a covered gallery has the dimension of 187 × 215 meters, the second terrace measures 100 × 115 meters and the third is 75 × 75 meters. As we have said earlier, at this stage of the Khmer architecture, horizontal and vertical elements met. So here we find, the first terrace is 3.95 meters higher than the platform. The second terrace is 7.00 meters higher the first. While the third is 13.00 meters higher than the second.

The type of Angkor Vat was, in fact, tried for the first time by Jayavarman II at Ak Yom, after he returned from Java. This is to represent mount Meru. A representation on the fronton of Banteay Srei features this and several inscriptions so far discovered attest to it.

According to Henri Marchal[2] , the cruciform sanctuary elevated on the the terraced platform like Angkor Vat, though frequently met with in Cambodia is somewhat rare in India and not known in Burma, Champa and Java. The first towers that form the quincunx of Angkor Vat is on the pattern of Takeo. But the difference and innovation here lie in the fact that the central tower (Plate 18) of Angkor Vat was much enlarged end elevated to form a separate gradin, overlooking the other four towers. Fergusson[3] says that the the towers of Angkor Vat are very Indian in character and outline, but when looked closely into are unlike anything known in India. The Ranpur temple near Sadari, according to him, has five spires similarly disposed. Further, the four open courts and a number of snake-figures at Ranpur temple seem to suggest a connection between the two. Again the dimensions of Ranpur temple are 200 x 225 ft. which are nearly the same with the dimensions of the highest level of Angkor Vat. Angkor Vat has another distinction of being different from the earlier shrines with elevated towers, in its galleries which are wide and all made in sandstone including the roof. They are open on the inner court supported by large square pillars, while the other outer walls of the lower gallery are covered with bas-reliefs. The central shrine of Angkor Vat is so steep because the four stairways at the four sides rise at precipitous angles. The topmost spire is joined to the galleries around the topmost level by cruciform arcades. The telescopic arrangement of the successive roofs of the galleries is really a great credit to the Khmer master-builders of the time. Some scholars think that the central spire must have been crowned by a golden lotus which rose to two hundred feet above the ground. A well 120 ft. deep under the central tower has been discovered with a deposit of gold object there. Rowland thinks that "the shaft symbolised the world pivot that was a pestle employed by the gods and asuras in churning the ocean of milk. The type of shaft and the deposit under the central tower remind us of similar practices in many stupas at Anuradhapura, Ceylon. But in the latter the shaft is filled by a square pillar under which lies the precious deposit dedicated to the stupas.

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[1] Percy Brown—Indian Art and Architecture (Hindu & Buddhist periods)p. 220.

[2] L 'Architecture Comparee dans 1' Inde et d' Extreme-Orient, 1944, P. 231.

[3] History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, Vol. II, p. 388.

As regards sculpture, Angkor Vat offers us a wide variety of themes in a continuous expanse of 800 meters, that is, more than half a mile. The bas-reliefs on the lintels, the frontons, the panels and other parts of the temple amount to nearly as much more. The figures were carved in low relief. Most of the subjects depicted are drawn from the Indian epics and sacred books namely Ramayana, Mahabharata, Harivamsa Purana and portray legendary scenes from the life of Rama and Krishna, Avataras of Vishnu. The sculpture begins a meter from the floor and covers a space of two meters in height. There are no less than 1750 life size figures of Apsaras portrayed in the exterior decoration[1]. The process of the bas-reliefs starts from left to right. This promptly invites an interesting interpretation from Przyluski who says that this type of arrangement is to meet certain ceremony of the Hindu called Prasavya. The ceremony requires the procession to move from left to right. So this indirectly tells us that the temple of Angkor Vat was originally a funeral tomb according to him. While Coedes is not far from right when he argues that the bas-rliefs arranged from left to right are for the convenience of the sculptors.

Angkor Vat was originally a Saivite temple according to Aymonier (Le Camboge, Vol. 3, p. 228) but was converted for the Buddhist usage by Jayavarman[2] VII. This is evidenced by a number of Buddha images, recumbent, seated

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1. Reginald le May—the Culture of Southeast Asia, 1954, p. 137.
2. Venerable Huot Tat—Some Prasats at Angkor 1928 p, 31 (in Cambodian language)—says that Angkor Vat was dedicated to Vishnu.

and standing in the central shrine. Originally there was a statue of Vishnu in the central shrine. Coedes has proved it to be a Vishnuite shrine (B. C. A. I. Vol. 2, 1911, pp. 170-220). Legend has it that when Buddhaghosa returned from Ceylon, Angkor Vat was given to him and became a Buddhist monastery. Unless there was a Cambodian Buddhaghosa of the twelfth century, this is chronologically incongruous since the famous Buddhaghosa lived in the fourth century. Local legend[1] which is even at present a household word is that Angkor Vat was constructed by Vishvakarma, the architect god on the order of Indra. This is due to the fact that it is the most charming and beautiful temple in the history of the Khmer architecture. Many admirations and tributes have been paid to the architecture of Angkor Vat. One such by Reginald le May[2] is "To sing the praises of this superb work of art to their fullest height would require the knowledge of a skill architect, the imagination of a poet, the flair of a born artist and the fluent pen of a master prose-writer".

The last phase of the classical Khmer art is called the flambuoyant or baroque phase by Percy Brown. It features the style of Bayon which covers the period from the second half of the twelfth century and the thirteenth century. Of this period there are many temples and accessory buildings including the bas = reliefs and terraces which were constructed stage by stage. For our purpose and in order to conform to the title of our thesis, we shall choose only a few most important ones to be discussed.

First of all, we shall take up the Preah Khan (Khadga in Sanskrit) of Angkor which is locally popular as the monument that shelters the royal sword. The building consists of the inner sanctuary, two enclosures 55 x 60 meters and 83 x 98 meters respectively, galleries and a laterite wall 175 x 200 meters as the third enclosure. A fourth enclosure is of no importance and was constructed later. Like all the constructions of this period, the shrine is on an horizotal plan. The central sanctuary is a cruciform tower with dome in sandstone. The presence of telescopic porticos here is reminiscent of the arrangement at Taprohm. The halls, chapels, courts in criss-cross, pavilions and porticos—all exhibit a big mass. The outer enclosure is cut by Gopuras at the axes of the central sanctuary. Hence many entrances are obtained. The east Gopura is preceded by a cruciform terrace with Naga balustrade. The frontons contain scenes from Buddhist and Brahmanical legends. Several statues of the Buddha have been discovered there also. This indicates the presence of the Buddhist domination at the time of Jayavarman VII who was himself a devout Buddhist king.

Next to Preah Khan about a few meters to the west there is an artificial lake called the Baray of Preah Khan. Its dimensions are 900X3700

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1. ibid. p. 15.
2. The Culture of Southeast Asia, 1954, p, 133.

meters about half the size of East Baray. The lake is called Jayatataka (pond of Jayavarman) and was probably dedicated to the Buddha. Later, it is said, it was dedicated to Lokesvara. This probably occurred at the time Mahayana Bhddhism was prosperous in Cambodia. The Inscription[1] here boasts of its holiness as being holier than Prayaga (at Allahabad which is sanctified by the conjunction of the Ganga, and the Yamuna). It says that Jayasri was made illustrious by three holy waters dedicated respectively, to the Buddha (Baray of Preah Khan), Siva (East Baray) and Vishnu (West Baray).

One of the most beautlful design of any small structures ever made in Cambodia is the little shrine on an artificial is land in a 70 meter square basin in the center of the lake Jayasri. It is called Neak Pean[2] (Naga Bandha). The shrine consists of a circular platform 14 meters in diameter, with a foundation of sandstone. Of the eight steps running around the platform, the second step from the bottom is surrounded by two Nagas with tails tied together on the west side and heads arranged fan-wise, forming a gateway at the east. From the Nagas, the temple took its name Neak Pean (serpent-tie). The upper step is made as petals of lotus out of which rises a little temple, only 4 meters square with four lotus storeys and a little crown. Thus the lotus that holds this most beautiful shrine seems to float on the surface of the basin. Coedes's interpretation of the shrine is that "the central piece of water is a representation, a microscopic replica of the legendary lake Anavatapta, whose miraculous and curative waters escape in the four directions by gargoyles corresponding...to the four animal heads by which the Himalayan lake gives birth to the four great rivers[3]". The presence of the heads of a bull, a lion, an elephant and a horse (a Makara ?) at the four sides of the basin is very significant. A big hole through the mouth of these animals serves the purpose of letting out the water from the basin to infuse with the water of the artificial lake. This reminds us exactly of the description of Anavatapta lake given in the Tibetan Purana. But in the case of the shrine in question, it is a Buddhist sanctuary. We are further reminded of similar animals on the capital of Asoka pillar at Sarnath in India. It appears that the usage of these animals in religious sculpture in Hinduism and Buddhism has come from a common origin and religious belief. Similar occurrence of these animals is met with in the moon-stone at Nagarjunikonda and at Polonnaruva in Cylon[4] . Dr. Wickrama-

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1. La stele de Preah Khan d' Angkor-B. E. F. E. O., Vol. 41, p. 269.
2. H. Parmentier—Angkor (Guide) Fig. 30.
3. Symbolisme de Neak Pean—B. E. F. E. O., Vol. 23, pp. 401-405.
   See also : Paul Pelliot, Memoires sur les Coutumes du Cambodge de Tcheou ta-Kouan, Paris, 1951 pp. 143-144.
4. S. Paranavitana—Art and Architecture of Ceylon (Polonnaruva period), 1954, p. 41.

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singha discovered similar animals in miniature made of bronze buried in the four directions around Vijayarama, a monastery at Anuradhapura, in Ceylon.

Actually speaking, the composition of Preah Khan of Angkor together with its accessory buildings does not differ much from the style and arrangement of Angkor Vat. But when we come to the Bayon proper after which the name of the style takes, we find further innovatfons namely (i) the towers with faces, (ii) elephants in masonry, (iii) balusters, no longer round but engaged in a wall, (iv) Dvarapalas in the round on socles, (v) Nagas and Garudas, and (vi) bas-reliefs with Avalokitesvara as the principal personage. Coedes thinks that the building was built in great haste by Jayavarman VII judged from the hasty delapidation and bad arrangement. Parmentier suggests that the Bayon and the wall of Angkor Thom (the Bayon is the central shrine of Angkor Thom) were built by Jayavarman VII. He also attributes the face-towers, Banteay Kdei and the addition of Banteay Chhmar to Jayavarman VII· This seems to be in line with many scholars who think that Jayavarman VII was a great builder-king.

The Bayon was built in the thirteenth century as the central temple of Angkor Thom. Though it is now a complicated mass of ruins, four different modellings of the construction have been discerned. At first the temple was built on an horizontal plan with only outer galleries. Then came the erection of inner galleries raised on a podium and joined by sixteen chapels to the outer galleries. Finally the central and subsidiary towers, were built over the original structures. But a little later, the sixteen chapels were demolished and converted to Mahayana usage by Jayavarman VII.

The present level of the central tower of the Bayon is 3.40 meters above the surrounding terrain. This is due to the fact that Jayavarman VI razed the former temple over this site and erected the galleries of the new temple on the ground level. Thus the Bayon was built over the central mass. The inner gallery is 70 × 80 meters while the other gallery measures 140 × 160 meters. The shrine over the central mass rises to a height of 45 meters. Chou ta-Kuan, the Chinese historian tells us that the tower was crowned with a tower of gold. The four-faced towers appear everywhere. There are sixteen towers (Plate No 19) in all and each tower has four gigantic human masks. On the Gopura tower of the wall of Angkor Thom, Pierre Loti first saw it. He writes, "I raise my eyes towards the towers which stretch far above me, covered with vegetation and suddenly I shudder with an unknown fear as I see a broad, fixed smile on the face which looks down upon me from on high and then another smile from another tower, then three more, then five, then ten—they are everywhere and I feel myself secretly overlooked from every quarter of the temple"[1] . These gigantic faces were first supposed by scholars as to have represented the four faces of Brahma. Some believe that they were intended to represent the four-faced Mukhalingams, emblems of Siva. But later, they were found to have represented Lokesvara on the ground of the similarity between them and those of Ta Prohm and Banteay Kdei. The tradition of associating the four-faced human mask with religious building is still in vogue now-a-days in some regions of Cambodia. At present, one finds it also on the top of the throne hall of the royal palace in Phnom Penh, the capital of Cambodia.

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[1] Reginald le May—The Culture of Southeast Asia, 1954, Fig. 126.

Then we come to the wall of Angkor Thom which was of slightly later period. The wall is made of laterite about 20 ft. high and about more than 13.2 kilometers in circumference. Five principal gates cut thorugh the wall, the main gate divides the city into four equal squares. Hence there are five roads. The gates are about $3\frac{1}{2}$ meters wide and about 7 meters from the lintel to the pavement. They are supported by giant three headed elephants. The height of the tower is about 20 meters including the gigantic four faces. The five causeways which lead up to these five gates are about 15 meters wide and are bordered on each side by a balustrade formed by a row of 54 giants, holding on their knees a Naga whose seven heads are deployed fan-wise to a height of 4 meters at each end of the causeway. This type of Naga balustrade was earlier found at Bakong, Chok Gargyar (Koh Ker), Preah Vihear, Beng Mealea and Angkor Vat but in different position.

After Angkor Thom, the last stronghold of the Khmer king at Angkor region, the Khmer architectnre began a down-hill decline until the period of the Siamese invasion, in the fourteenth century, which did great damage to the once glorious and unrivalled Angkor.

Fifth Chapter

Devaraja and Buddharaja Cults

As has been hinted at, the Deveraja and Buddharaja cults were peculiar to Cambodia alone and were responsible for the creation of the mountain-temples in imitation of Mount Meru in Indian mythology. An analysis into these two once famous but now defunct cults would reveal to us an attempt to integrate the spiritual and secular powers of the ruling monarchs Jayavarman II, who liberated the Khmer kingdom from the grip of Java, is believed to have initiated the Devaraja cult. It coincided with the very day the Khmer announced their independence from Java in 802 A. D. Jayavarman II is said to have come to the throne on this date probably as an independent ruler.

The cult which was connected with the worship of the Lingam is supposed to have been introduced by Bhavavarman who built a temple called Bhadresvara for it on a mount at Ba Phnom in lower Cambodia about the fifth century. It is believed by some scholars that it could have been introduced with the arrival of the first Kaundinya who landed in Funan and married the Naga princess about the first century. Jayavarman, however, was the first to transform the popular linga worship into the Devaraja cult. He invited a Brahman called Hiranyadama from the Janapada to teach his Purohita by the name of Sivakaivalya how to prepare the ritual to create a new Devaraja. Thus the inscription discovered at the temple, mentioned above, says, "Then a Brahman named Hiranyadama, skilled in magic science, came from Janapada, because His Majesty Paramesvara has invited him to perform a ceremony that would make it impossible for this country of the Kambuja to pay any allegiance to Java and that there should be, in this country, one sole sovereign, who should be Chakravartin".[1] Thus the ceremony was itself the Khmer declaration of Independence from Java.

Where is the Janapada from which Hiranyadama came is another question that involves us here. Could he have come from India ? The inscription at Sdok Kak Thom says that Hiranyadama brought the memory of four Sastras which he used in preparing the magic formula. He recited them from the beginning to the end, reduced them into writing and taught Sivakaivalya to make the formula.

From the time of Jayavarman II, we find that every king consecrated his own Devaraja. It is doubtful whether the sacred Lingam which was associated

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1. B.E. F. E. O., Vol. 43, pp. 57-134; B. E. F. E. O., vol. 15, p. 53: Aymonier, Le Cambodge, Vol. II p. 250; R. C. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Kambuja, Calcutta, 1953, p. 362 (Inscription No. 152)

with the Devaraja cult was transferred from one king to another as in the case of the Sacred Tooth Relic of the Buddha in Ceylon. In the latter case, the Tooth Relic was the Palladium of the ruling monarch and it was transferred from one king to another (King Don Juan Dharmapala who turned to be a puppet of the Portuguese and a converted Christian in order to fight his internecine war made a forged Tooth Relic to claim his position as a sovereign ruler of Ceylon). The Devaraja cult seems to have been intended to identify the king with Siva, judged from his posthumous name Paramesvara. It is from his time that the custom of conferring posthumous name on the kings started in Cambodian history. It has come down even to the present time. The late king of Cambodia, king Norodom Suramarit received the posthumous name, Preah Kanchana-Kotthi. Actual remains reveal that the statues of Siva were given the names of the kings after their death. Even the statues of Gauri, the wife of Siva, were named after the queens of those monarchs. For instance, at the temple of Preah Ko, we have two rows of shrines, three shrines in each row. The front towers contained, the statues of Siva under the vocables, from north to south, respectively, of Rudresvara, Paramesvara and Prithivindresvara, i. e., Jayavarman II (founder of the dynasty) in the center, Rudravarman, the former's maternal grandfather, and Prithivindravarman, father of Indravarman I. Other three shrines in the second row house the statues of Gauri under the vocables, from north to south, respectively, of Narendradevi, Dharanindradevi and Prithivindradevi, i. e,, the wives of Rudravarman, Jayavarman II, and Prithivindravarman.[1] As is evidenced from the temple of Angkor Vat, scholars, with Coedes as the first exponent, believe that those mountain-temples probably became the funeral mounds of respective monarchs after their death.

When Jayavarman VII (1162-1201 A. D.) came to the throne, another cult appeared on the scene, on the pattern of the Devaraja cult. It was the Jayabuddha or Buddharaja cult. In the inscription of Presh Khan[2] dated 1191 A. D., the mention of Jayabuddha shows that Jayavarman VII clearly identifies himself with the Buddha and in the inscription at Ta Prohm[3] (all in the Angkor region) his mother is identified with Prajnaparamita, the mother of the Buddha in Mahayana Buddhism. Coedes thinks Jayabuddha is clearly Jayavarman VII apotheosized as the Buddha.

Mus advocates that the gigantic faces on the towers of Bayon, Banteay

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1. See also : J. N. Banerjea—The Development of Hindu Iconography, 1956, p. 38.
2. B. E. F. E. O., XLI, p. 255; R. C. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Kambuja, p. 475 (No. 178).
3. B. E. F. E. O., VI, p. 44; R. C. Majumdar, Inscriptions of Kambuja, p. 459 (No. 177).

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Kdei and Banteay Chhmar represent the Bodhisattva Lokitesvara Samantamukha. Briggs considers them as the faces of Jayavarman VII as they are like those of Lokitesvara on the walls. So the symbolism of the faces is that the Lokitesvara-apotheosized Jayavarman extended his benevolent protection to all parts of the empire. According to Coedes 23 images of Jayabuddhamahanatha have been discovered from various parts of the empire—some are from places as far as Lopburi, Suphan, Rathburi, Pechapuri and Muong Sing in what is now Siam. The demolition of the original foundation at the Bayon thus points clearly to the replacement of the Devaraja cult by the Buddharaja cult (See page 38). It is believed that contribution must have come from the provinces to construct those gigantic and smiling faces at Bayon. So the Bayon was symbolically the central, secular and divine power of the Khmer empire.

Conclusion

In the foregoing chapters,we have reviewed, in outline, the architecture of Cambodia from the earliest period of its recorded history preceded by a brief and rough analysis into the relations between India and Cambodia—the relations that resulted in the Indianization of the latter in various respects, social, religious, political and artistic.

What Cambodia has inherited from India has been made to evolve further on the pattern of national taste and liking. For instance, the first current of Indian civilization in Cambodia during the early centuries of the Christian era was followed to the letter. This is seen in the type of religious worship and social structure in the early days of Cambodian history. It was on this basis that the religious architecture most certainly of light material was produced according to Indian pattern. But unfortunately we do not have any trace of it except in some other forms when it was already modified. At a glance, the similarity between the shrines called Tapeang Phong, Prasat Andet and Prasat Bayang in Cambodia and the Ratha at Mamallapuram is striking. The barrel roof, the gabled ends remain the same in both cases. While the Ratha has free standing pillars, the Cambodian counterpart has not. The Ratha is covered by a series of storeys which proceeds to diminish but these storeys are well marked by rows of pavilions, well separated from the ground work in such a manner that there is a circulation behind. These pavilions are complete elements, distinct from one another and even of two types. While Prasat Bayang or Trapeang Phong just proceeds upwards in storeys without having any circulation. In the early period, of the Khmer architecture, the Indian horse-shoe arch remained the same, but later was slightly modified. In the early period, too, the Cambodian architect focussed more attention on the sculptural embellishment of the door as was the case with the Gupta architect.

The evolution of the Cambodian architecture was complete at the time of Angkor Vat, that is, the classical period. The creation of the Devaraja cult which necessitated the building of the mountain-temple at the time of Jayavarman II contributed a big step in the evolution. It is one stone that kills two birds. The evolution was originally in the field of religious belief, the Davaraja cult. But the current simultaneously and probably unconsciously charged on to architecture.

In spite of all these modifications and evolution, Cambodia remains still more Indian in other respects. As Dr. Foucher puts it. "It is more Indian than the modernized Bengal".

●

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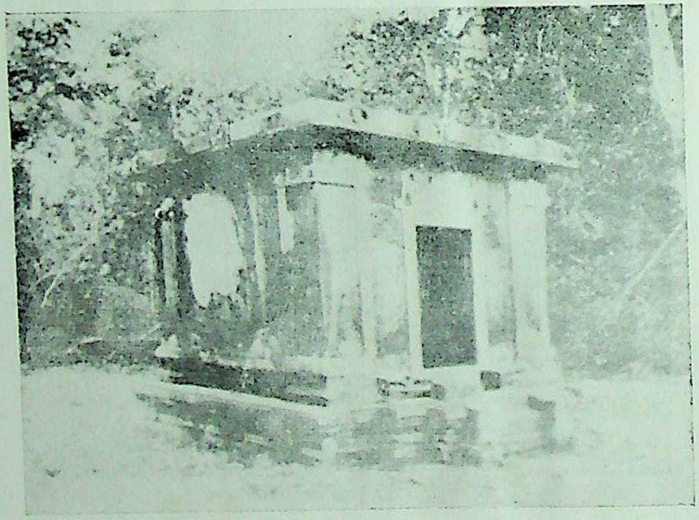
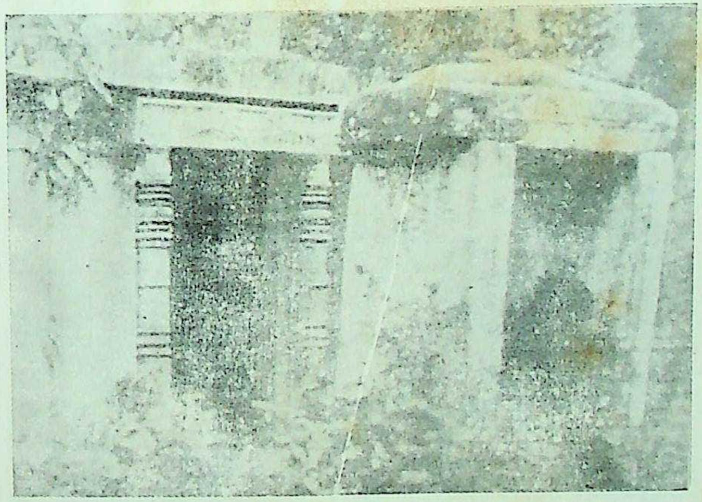
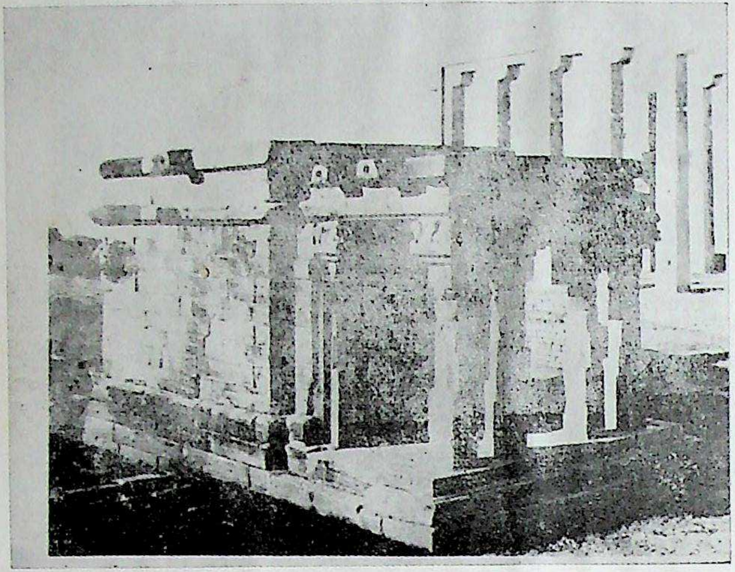


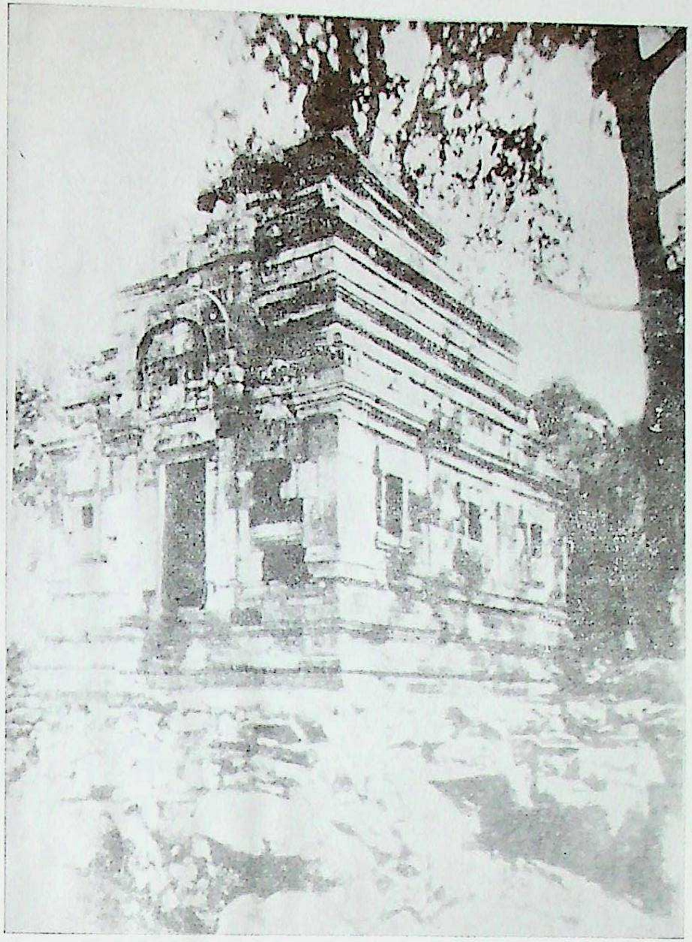
1. Sambor Prei Kuk N 19 showing Kudus.
By courtesy of the American Philosophical Society



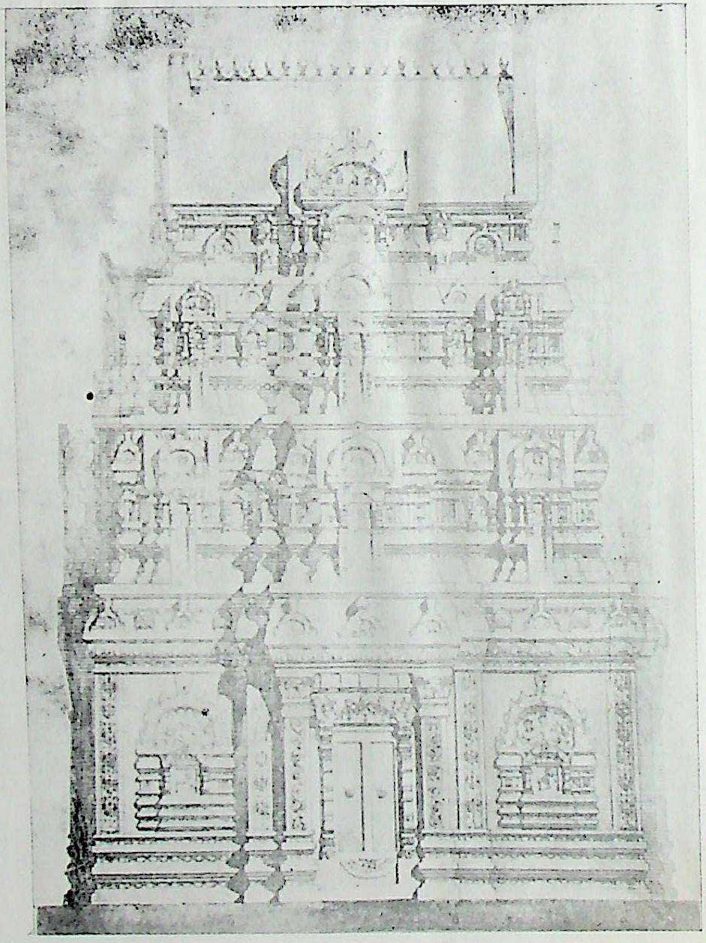
2. Hanchey : cellule showing Mandapa, lintel and colonettes.
By courtesy of the American Philosophical Society



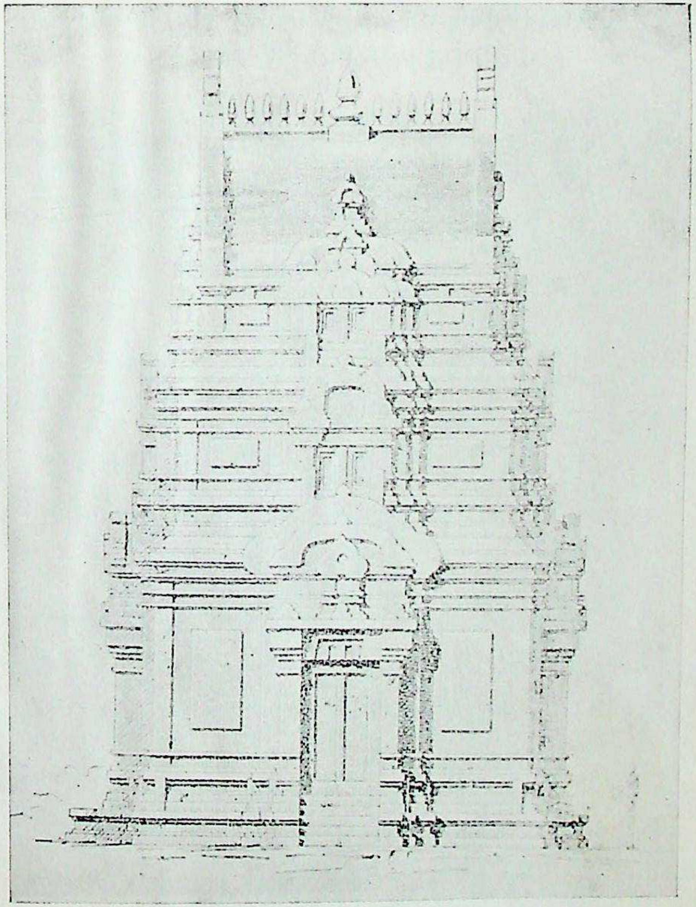
3. Sanchi, Gupta Temple No. 17. Ca.
5th century A. D.



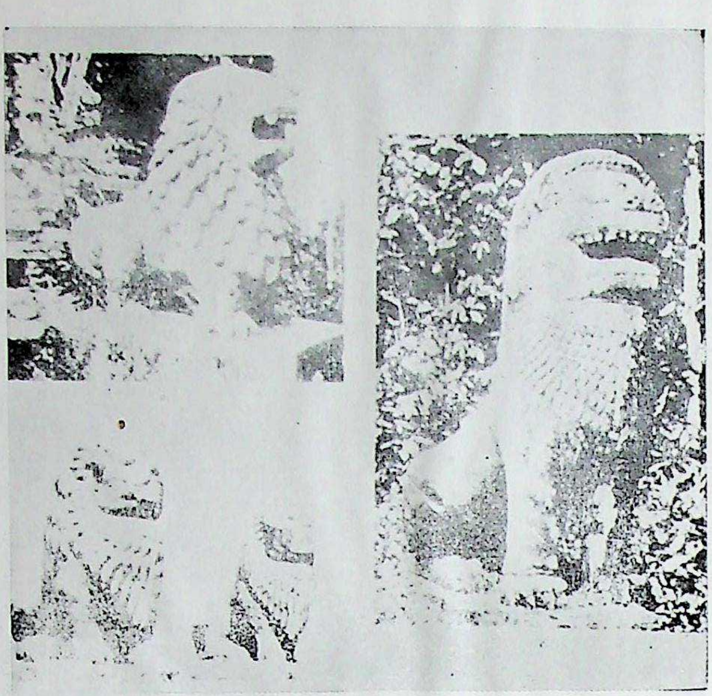
4. Asram Moharosei
By courtesy of the American Philosophical Society



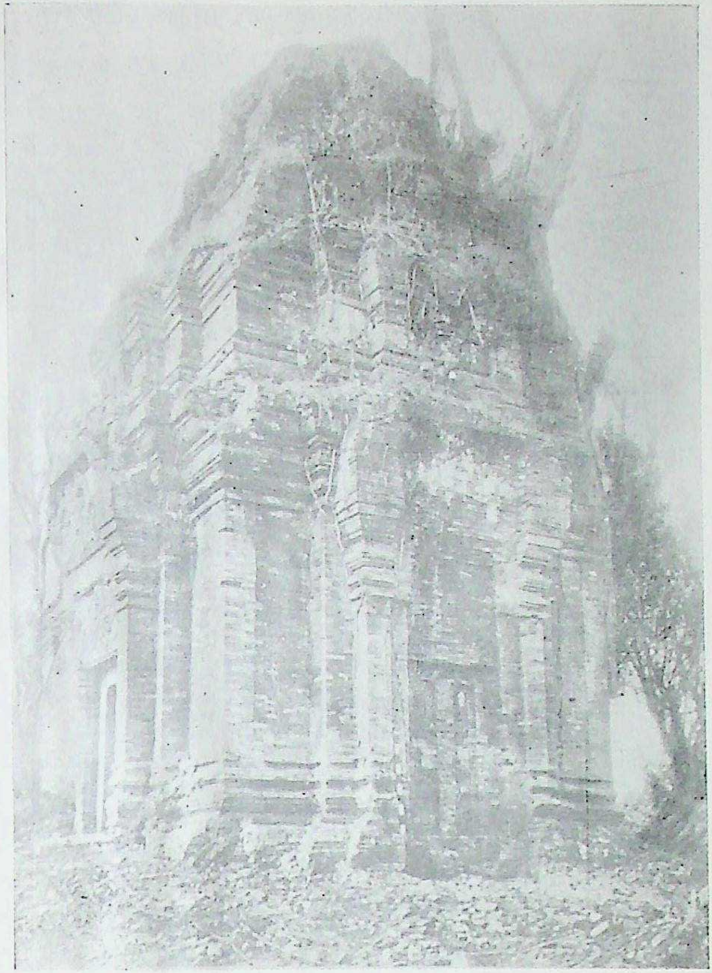
5. Prasat Bayang, (side view)
By courtesy of the American Philosophical Society



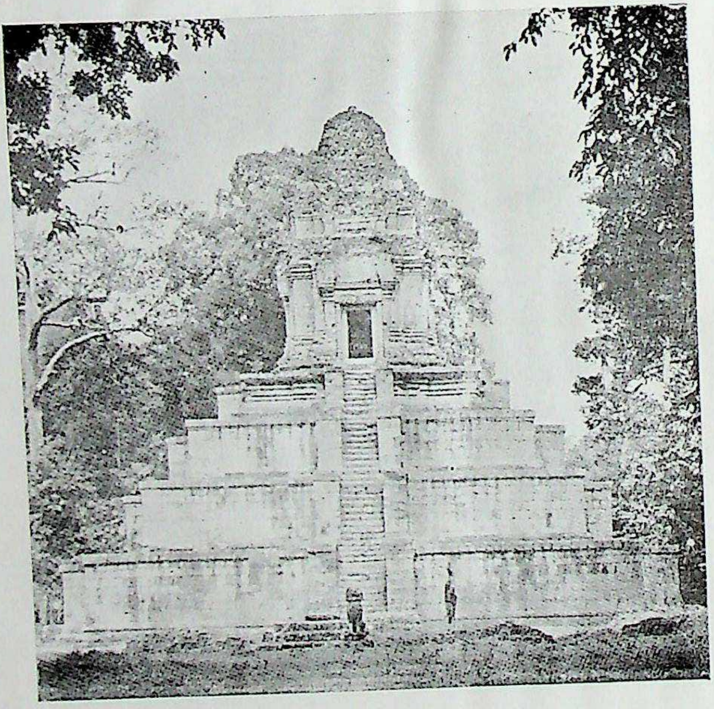
6. Prasat Andet (Kompong Thom)
By courtesy of the American Philosophical Society



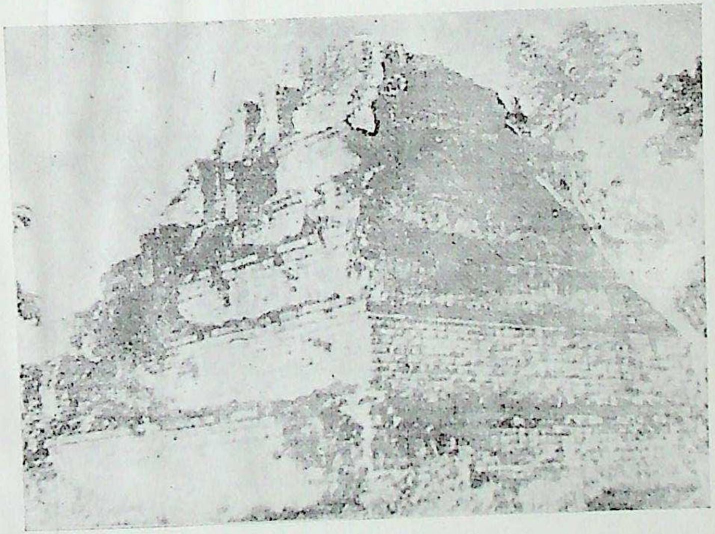
7. Lions : a. Sambor C I, b. Kulen,
c. Phnom Bakheng
By courtesy of the American Philosophical Society



8. Bakong tower in brick
By courtesy of the American Philosophical Society

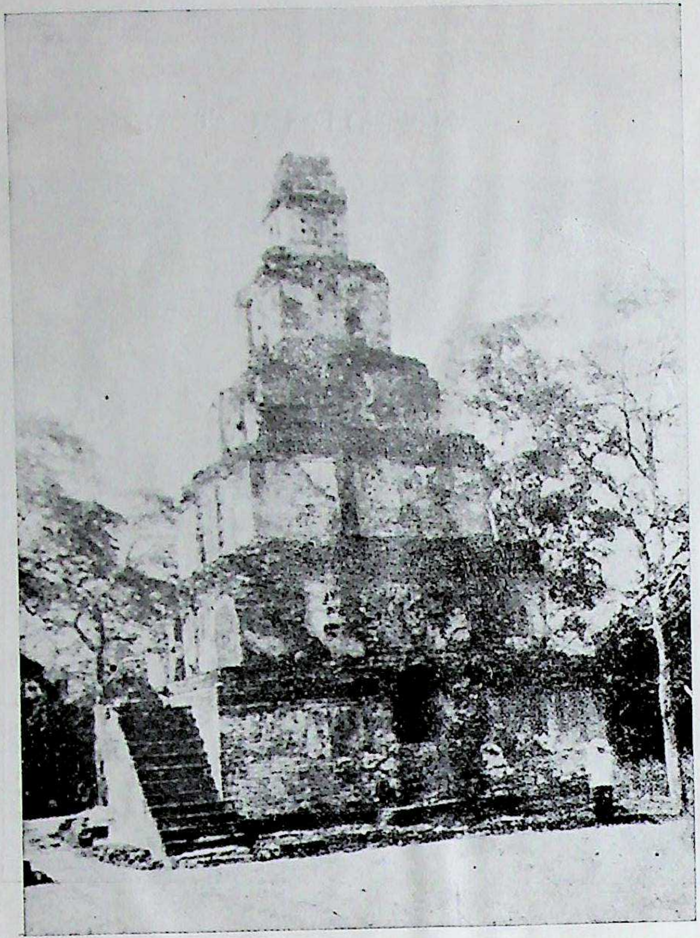


9. Baksei Chamkrong

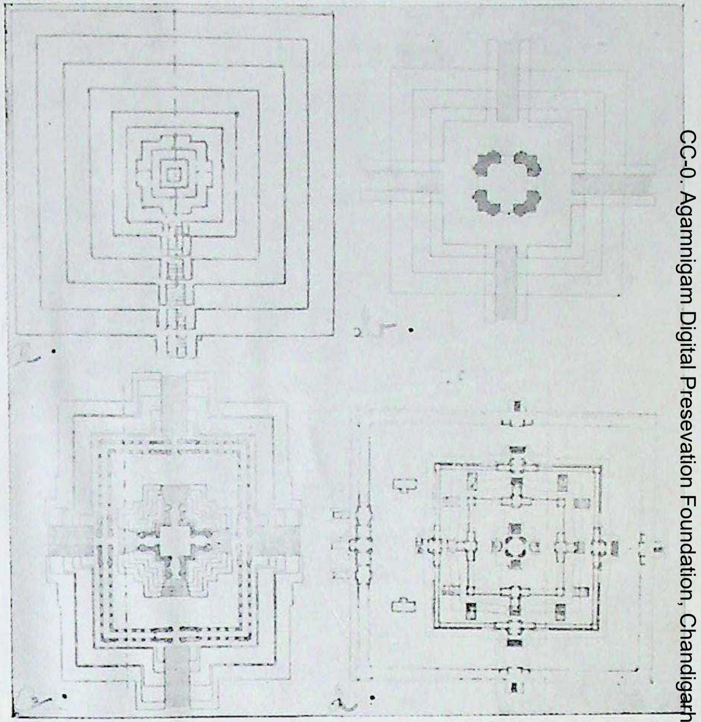


10. Prasat Thom (Koh Ker)

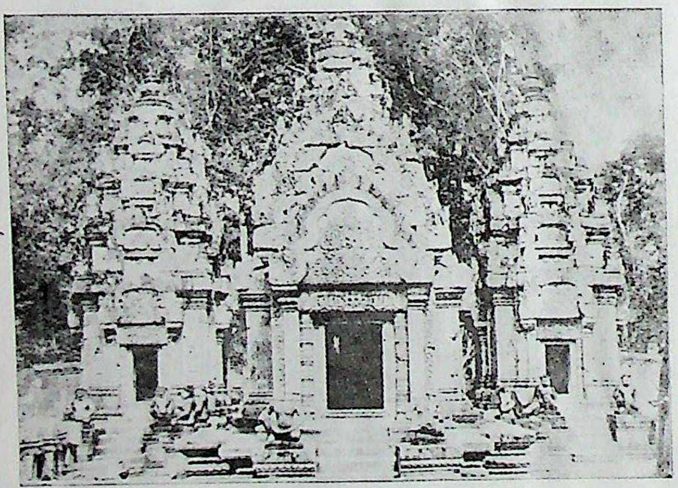
By courtesy of the American Philosophical Society



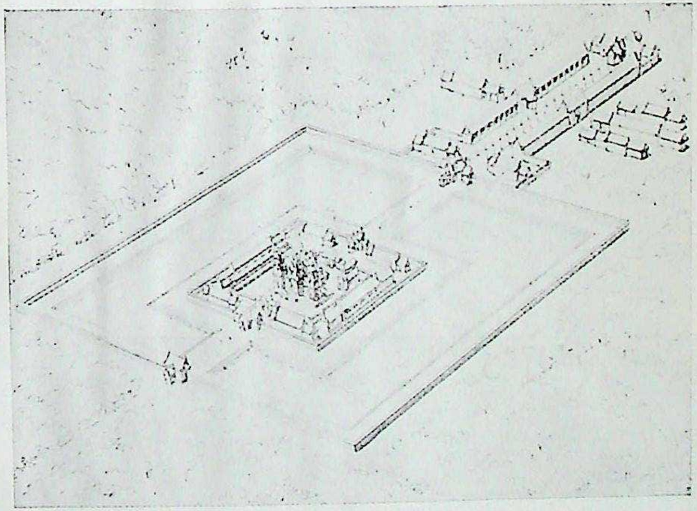
11. Sat Mahal Prasad (Ceylon)



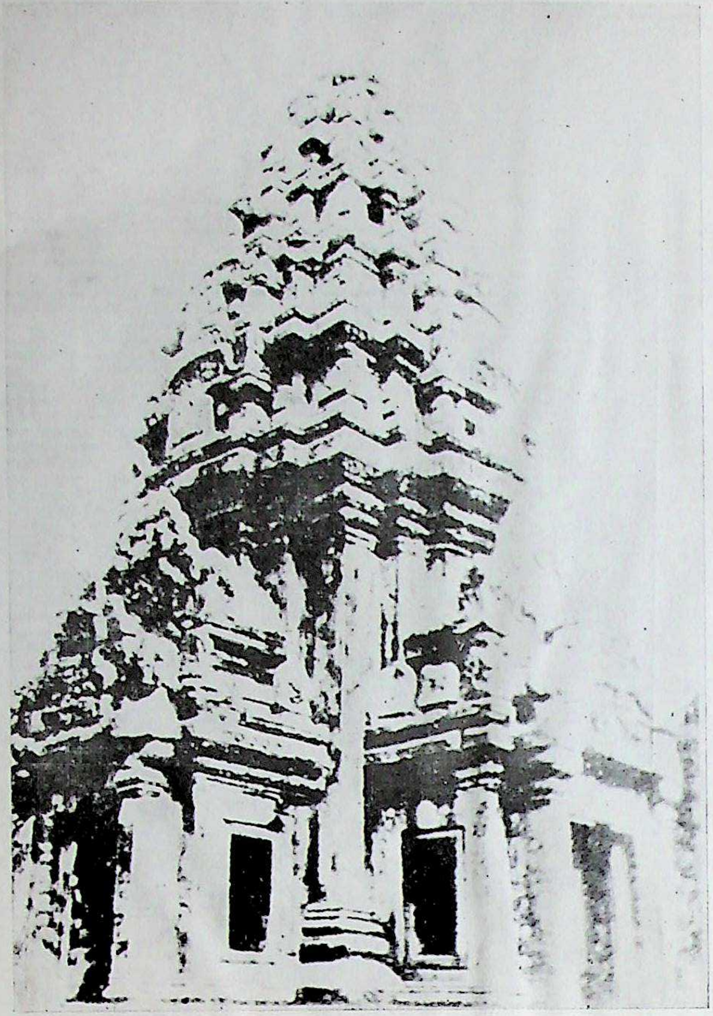
12. Plan : a. Prasat Thom, b, Baksei Chamkrong,
c. Phimeanakas, d. Baphuon
By courtesy of tne American Philosophioal Society



13. Banteay Srei

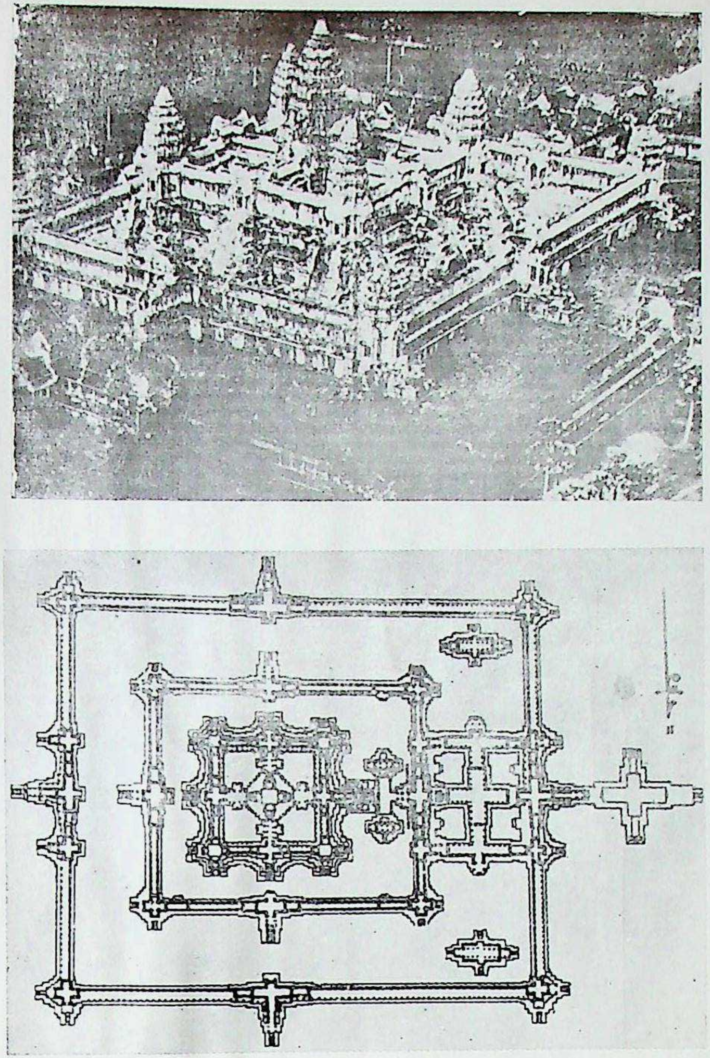


14. Plan : Banteay Srei
By courtesy of the American Philosophical Society

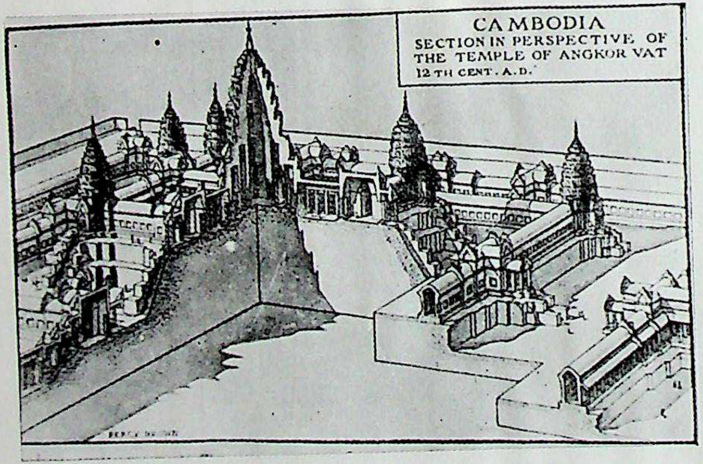


15. Banteay Samre

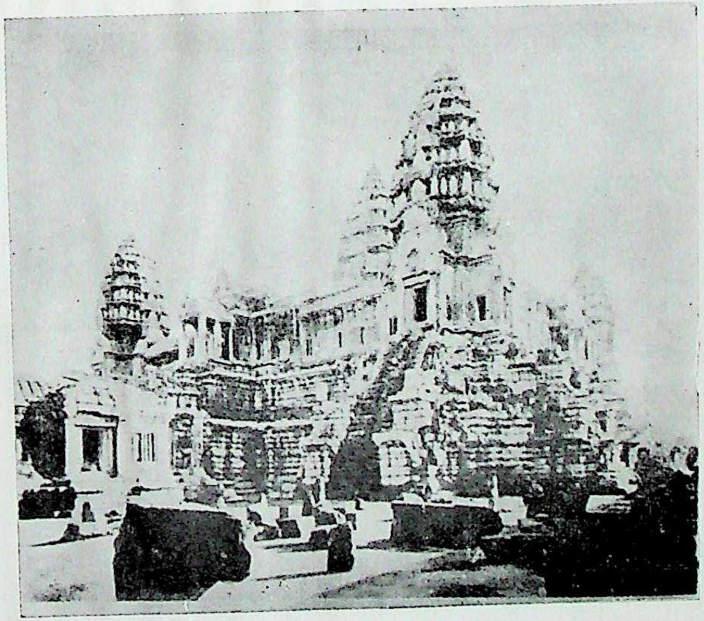
By courtesy of the American Philosophical Society



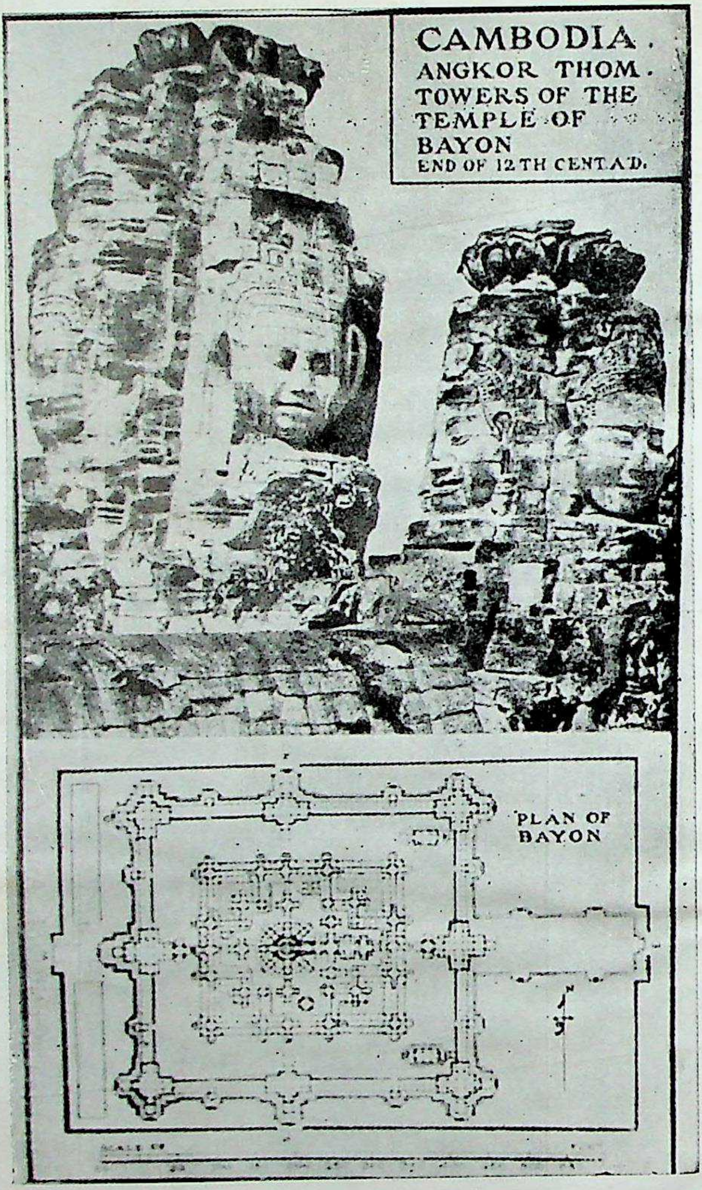
16. Angkor Vat and its plan


CAMBODIA
SECTION IN PERSPECTIVE OF
THE TEMPLE OF ANGKOR VAT
12 TH CENT. A.D.

17. Section in perspective of Angkor Vat
By courtesy of Taraporevala Sons and Co. Ltd.



18. Angkor Vat. Central quincunx of towers
By courtesy of the American Philosophical Society


CAMBODIA.
ANGKOR THOM.
TOWERS OF THE
TEMPLE OF
BAYON
END OF 12TH CENT A.D.
PLAN OF
BAYON

19. Angkor Thom. Tower & Plan ; Bayon
By courtesy of Taraporevala Sons and Co. Ltd.